CHARLES MURRAY ON *APOLLO 13* ❧ HENRY LOUIS GATES, JR. ❧ POCO-HONEST *POCAHONTAS*

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

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A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

WORK!

We Need More. We Need Less.
We Need New Kinds. Here's a Primer.
Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, Tony Brown, Florence King, James Payne, Blake Hurst, and others.

1½ Cheers for Afrocentrism

Including Excerpts from the New Bestseller by Dinesh D'Souza

Are Earnings Falling?

Or are Baby Boomers and Gen Xers Just Whiners?

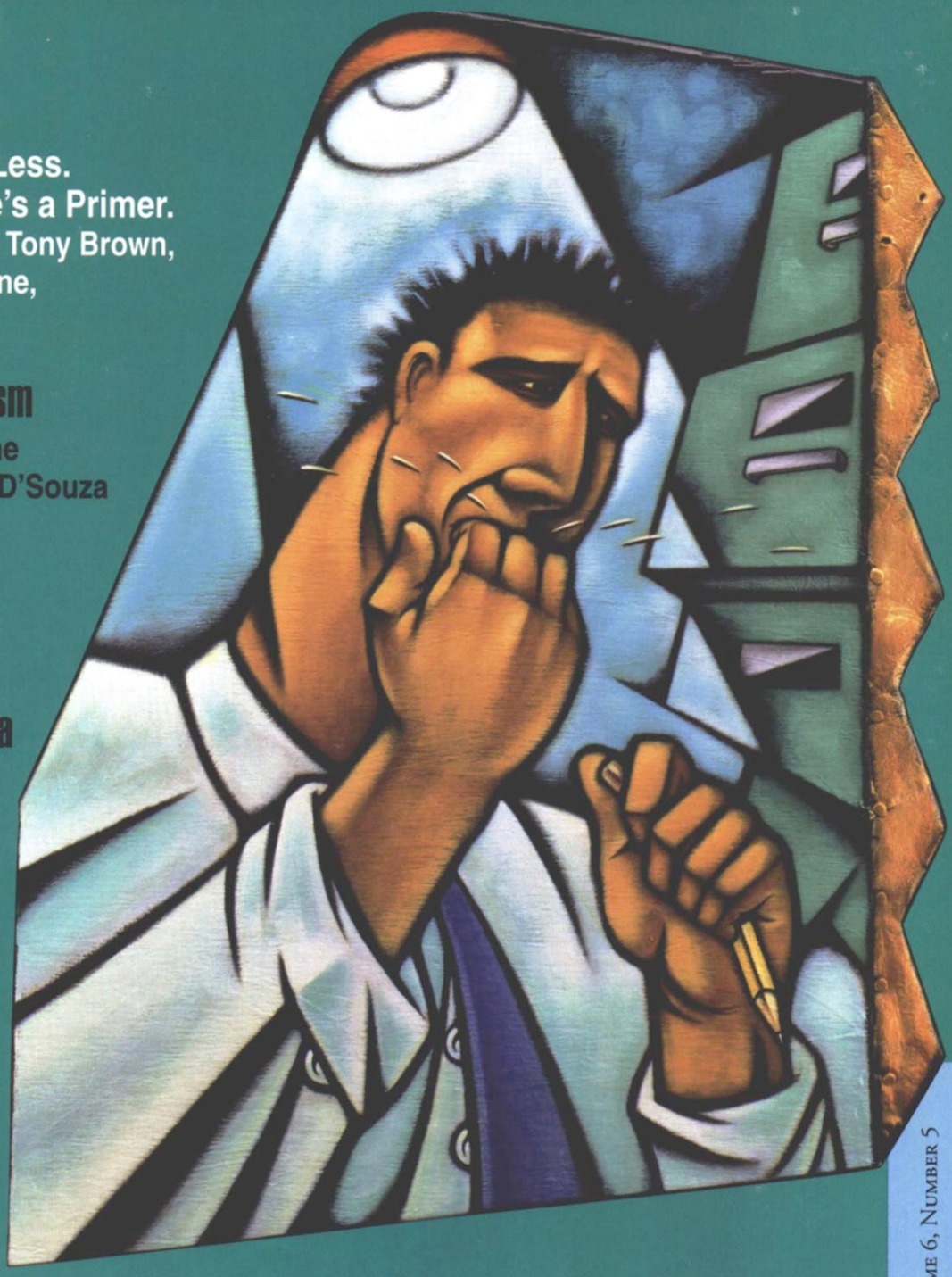
Japan's POWs & Hiroshima

Mother Nature Is Impure

Irving Kristol v. Jack Valenti on Censorship

Democrats Hit Time Warner

Molly Ivins, Plagiarist



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September/October 1995

Volume 6, Number 5

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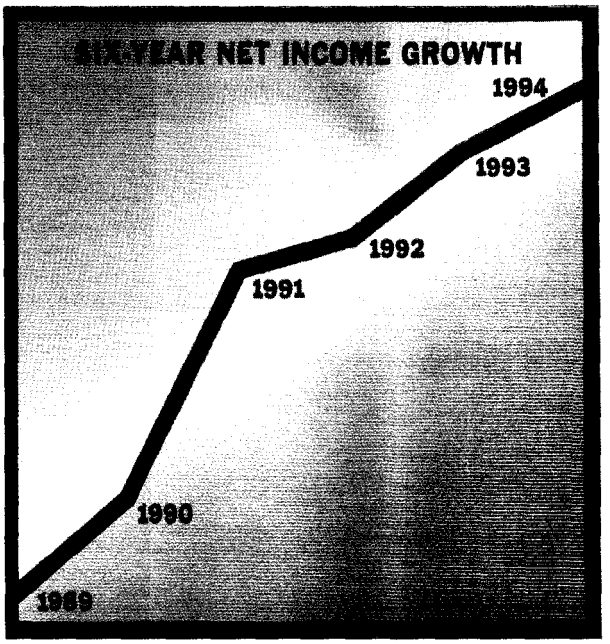

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

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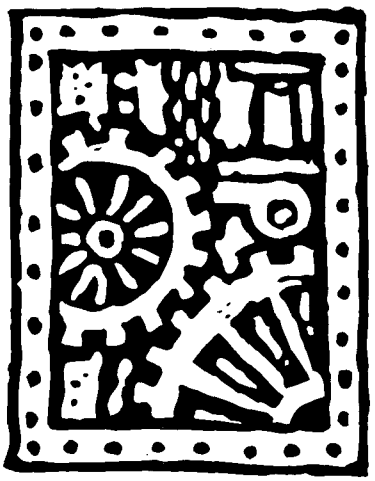

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A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

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Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

Work, Truth, and Romance

This being an issue with a focus on work, I thought I'd start this column with a brief description of our own work patterns here at *The American Enterprise.*

For we are a kind of virtual magazine, produced out of the ether by individuals working in five or six different states. As your editor in chief, I am based in the small town splendor of upstate New York. Our main production office in Washington, D.C., is a place I have visited a total of three times over the last year, for a score of hours or so in grand sum. Other *TAE* editors are also far-flung. One works from home in Louisville, Kentucky, another does likewise in Maryland, a third is located a few hours' drive from me in Western New York. A fourth contributes from Connecticut.

So where do we meet to work together? In Cyberia. There are three phone lines coming into my home office, and they hum most of the time. We have occasional conference calls, heaps of letters and packages are mailed and expressed back and forth, and thousands of phone calls, faxes, and e-mail transmissions buzz day and night long. The Ithaca-to-Washington, D.C. communications traffic is especially intense. And, for myself at least, it has been an extraordinarily satisfying way to work. (I promise to let any editors who disagree with me have a word at the end of this column if they want!)

I have very effective, very different, and very understanding working relations with the dozen or so individuals whose decisions and contributions from hundreds of miles distant go into co-creating *The American Enterprise.* The rap on telecommuting is that a lack of "around the coffee pot" office bonding can sometimes lead to miscommunication and lost connections. I don't doubt that this can sometimes occur. But I can say that in our own case this has not been a serious obstacle, and that there have indeed been advantages (quite apart from the personal ones of better connection to family life and lower necktie-buying expenses) associated with our mixture of locations and traditional versus satellite home offices. After all, our magazine aspires to chronicle developments in American culture in their national fullness—and it's a big, boisterous country. Being sprinkled across several parts of it seems to help.

Our work arrangement, while unconventional, is hardly the most unusual or interesting one you'll come across. My friend Marvin Olasky accomplishes a similar task in editing *World* magazine (which is based in North Carolina) from Texas, with the assistance of another key editor in St. Louis. Their accomplishment is actually more striking, because they put out issues on a weekly basis. Liberated by new technology, driven by the need to connect the best workers available regardless of their physical location, and encouraged by the growing determination of Americans to organize their lives according to individual rather than institutional priorities, thousands of enterprises of all sorts are pioneering new work patterns.

Our treatment of the subject of work on the pages following is catholic. We touch on driven professionals who work too much—at the expense of their families and communities. We consider candidates for the underclass who work too little, missing the joys and rewards of self-provision. James Payne's article, informed by time spent in an actual shelter for day laborers, and imbued with respect for the dignity and difficulty of manual toil, is a fine piece of thinking and writing I imagine many readers will appreciate. Later, we've paired contributions from African-American streetfighter Tony Brown and author Dinesh D'Souza on the tragic failure of blacks in this country to use small businesses to build

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economic independence, the way other disadvantaged groups have with smashing success.

Following that are a series of arguments about the merits of work versus schooling. Is it possible academic education has been overblown as an instrument of self-improvement? Are there significant numbers of individuals slipping off the academic path who could succeed if there were as much encouragement for work and enterprise as there is for academic schooling? Certainly the demand for a college B.A. has reached manic proportions (see INDICATORS). A sacrilegious thought in America: Do too many of us go to college? Some of our writers think so.

Daily work is a major source of human purpose and meaning. It is also the way we materially support ourselves and our loved ones—so the rise or fall of wage levels is a very big deal for most workers, affecting our personal hopes, our degrees of national optimism, our collective sense of justice or injustice. We often hear it said today that payrates have stagnated in this country, and that the broad upward mobility of the American Dream has come to an end. That is a very serious claim, and in an article starting on page 44 your editor examines it closely.

Other tidbits that glance up against the subject of work are strewn throughout this issue. Among other things, you'll find a larger than normal complement of true work stories in IN REAL LIFE, the department in every installment of our magazine where we let Americans talk about their everyday vocations.

WE ARE A VIRTUAL MAGAZINE, PRODUCED OUT OF THE ETHER BY WORKERS IN SIX DIFFERENT STATES. SO WHERE DO WE MEET? IN CYBERIA. OUR JOB IS TO UNDERSTAND AMERICA, AND BEING SPRINKLED ACROSS THIS BIG, BOISTEROUS COUNTRY SEEMS TO HELP.

Following our features on work you'll find an excerpt from Dinesh D'Souza's major new book on race and multiculturalism. In it, he warns about the importance of truth-telling in intellectual life, and of the dangers associated with the current tendency of Afrocentrists to assemble curricula for children that are riddled with inaccurate and exaggerated claims about black culture. As professor Harry Kaufmann has written in the *New York Times,* "unverified, indeed disproven, claims masquerading as knowledge deserve anger and contempt" from serious educators, no matter whether launched in the name of black pride or any other good cause, and D'Souza exposes a passel of fakery and factual error, as is the scholar's duty. There is real danger, he warns, in building black "self-esteem" on the shifting sands of myth and put-downs of other groups.

Just the same, it seems to us there is a kernel of wisdom at the core of the Afrocentric project. Africans and Europeans arrived on America's shores at the same time, and it's true, as Afrocentrists point out, that our society bears important African imprints in addition to the dominant European ones. They are right, too, that children need to see wholesome aspects of themselves in what they study. Afrocentrists have also shown insight in demanding discipline and self-improvement from their fellow blacks. The sharp dress, the insistence on respect for women, the Black Muslim prohibitions on alcohol and other intoxicants, the calls to work, these are more than just superficialities. It's relevant that most Afrocentrists, including black nationalists and Muslims, have insisted that gangster rap should be viewed as pathological.

Hoping to discredit the falsehoods and the enmity that have been a part of the Afrocentric movement without discounting its emphasis on self-love, pride, and positive cultural models, we've complemented D'Souza's article with several others. You will find reflections from Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Anthony Appiah on the double-edged sword of race-pride. And capping the section is a quartet of articles outlining some candidates for what we bill as "alternative Afrocentrisms"—schools of thought associated with specific personages from American history who might be constructively studied and emulated by seekers of black excellence. Booker T. Washington, Jessie Fauset, and Zora Neale Hurston represent arbitrary choices on our part, but they amount to a powerful start on any search for African-American exemplars.

The prod to truth-telling amounts to a kind of theme in this issue of *The American Enterprise.* Stephen Budiansky's article urges us to discard the romantic notion of nature as a pristine and inerrantly self-regulating system. Nature is regularly roiled by organic disasters, competition among species (like elephants vs. baobab trees, to take an example from one of our articles), and by the influence of man. To pretend that mankind can just step out of the picture today and let nature flourish is an illusion. Man must manage—intelligently and forcefully.

At the end of our features section, Laurens van der Post's tale of the Hiroshima bombing calls for a different kind of truth-telling. The Japanese have never been especially forthright with themselves about the circumstances surrounding history's only atomic attacks, and as the years recede, many Westerners too have lost sight of the true nature of what happened. Van der Post's reflections on some of the essential facts behind the momentous event may help counterbalance this memory loss.

Offered in that same antidotal spirit is this issue's TRANSCRIPT item on American Indian culture. Just as injustices done to Native Americans should be viewed unblinkingly, so should the Indians' actual ways of living be recalled accurately. Having shed some of our earlier distortions of Indian life, the nation's current tendency is to turn Native Americans into PC plaster saints, a transformation that the historical record will not support.

Unblinking truthfulness. No doubt we've fallen short in places, but that is what many of the articles that follow aspire to, on subjects ranging from racialism, to income levels, to the significance of work. Please read on.

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Sidelights

"It had to happen," writes the London *Spectator*, "a hospital for hypochondriacs is to open in Norway." The magazine predicts Hypochondria Awareness campaigns that warn, "We are all at risk!" ❧ Rome's communist newspaper *Il Manifesto* has been reduced to raising money by issuing shares of stock. · · · Latvia has opened its first stock exchange since 1940. · · · China's cellular phone coverage now extends nationwide, with over 2 million users. ❧ Current estimates indicate Japan's top banks hold around $600 billion worth of problem loans. Bad loans may end up equaling one-quarter of Japan's GDP and require a government bailout costing $175 billion to $350 billion. ❧ High-tech American companies like Sun Microsystems and Intel fear rising anti-immigration sentiments will hinder their ability to hire skilled workers. Asian immigrants make up about 25 percent of Silicon Valley's work force, reports *Reason*'s **Glenn Garvin**. ❧ Raising teenagers isn't easy, one working mother told the *Wall Street Journal:* "She and her attorney husband…sold their second home to reduce the pressure to keep earnings up. She cut back to a 40-hour week from 60 and began volunteering at her daughter's school." · · · *Women's Quarterly* editor **Danielle Crittenden** complains that "parents have come to treat their children not as raw specimens of humanity, in need of educating and civilizing, but as tiny citizens in their own nations of families, with rights equal to their parents." · · · Co-ed teenage "slumber parties" are becoming popular among teens, reports the *Wall Street Journal.* During one party, **Scott Murphy**'s father walked in on his son and a girl "at a tender moment." The elder Murphy "apologized on the spot, which everyone agreed was cool." · · · When Americans remade the French movie *Nine Months,* they took out the slapping of a truculent 13-year-old. "In American movies you can kill 10,000 people and that's okay. But slap a loudmouth brat? Forget it," said the French director. · · · From a recent Nike ad: "We are hedonists and we want what feels good.… And we will jump up and down and scream until we get it."

The Manchester, New Hampshire *Union Leader* has reminded readers that **Pete Wilson**—who now calls himself a "**Reagan** conservative"—stumped the state for **Ford** in 1976 and denounced Reagan as California's "worst governor." · · · An economic liberal in social liberal clothing? Famous for combining liberal moral views with conservative fiscal ones, Massachusetts Gov. **William Weld** is angering former supporters with his backsliding on crime, government reduction, and affirmative action—"a warning to voters elsewhere about the integrity of new-age fusion Republicanism," says Bostonian **Jon Keller**. · · · *Do as I Do:* Deficit hawk **John Kasich** (R-Ohio) cut his House Budget Committee's operating expenses by $2.1 million and reduced staff by 33 percent. ❧ When an accounting firm estimated that eliminating the marriage penalty tax would cost the U.S. Treasury $25 billion, a California customer rephrased that: *"Not* to eliminate the marriage penalty would cost married taxpayers $25 billion." · · · Washington, D.C. Delegate **Eleanor Holmes Norton** is wary of congressional plans to abolish D.C. taxes: "I don't want this to be Hong Kong or some kind of tax haven. The price of land would go through the stratosphere." ❧ Democratic State Rep. **Ron Wilson**—who represents an inner-city Houston district—sponsored the bill that restored Texans' right to carry concealed handguns: "I really don't care if the crime rate decreases because of this bill. All I want to do is put innocent people, those who are potential victims, in a position of being able to protect themselves." ❧ "If there is retributive justice, he'll get AIDS from a transfusion, or one of his grandchildren will get it," said National Public Radio's **Nina Totenberg**, reacting to Sen. **Jesse Helms**' comment that government spends too much on AIDS research. · · · When Father's Day and Gay Pride Day fell on the same date this year, the *Washington Post Book World* devoted 224 column inches to the gay/lesbian experience and 42 column inches to heterosexual fatherhood. · · · **Kristine Holt**, a Democratic candidate for County Commissioner in Venango, Pennsylvania, is a woman who used to be a man. Her campaign slogan: "Committed to Change."

Last year, 129 teamsters' union officials earned over $100,000; highest paid was **Frank Wsol**, secretary/treasurer of Chicago Local 710 ($399,418). · · · Pay and benefits for an average blue-collar worker at the U.S. Postal Service came to $44,342 in 1994. ❧ Your tuition dollars at work: A college intern in a Senate office threw out a personal letter from a Dr. **Henry Kissinger** because it was from out-of-state. · · · Over a third of Britain's schoolchildren can't identify **Winston Churchill** or V-E Day. · · · In a letter attacking **Lamar Alexander** two teachers twice misspelled *Tennesseans.* · · · New York Mayor **Rudolph Giuliani** was similarly vilified by college students who misspelled his name, "tiution," and "priorty." ❧ **Leonard Jeffries**—chairman of the City University of New York's black studies department and infamous for anti-white and anti-Semitic diatribes—has been succeeded as chairman by **Moyibi J. Amoda**, a native Nigerian said to hold moderate views. ❧ **James** and **Susan McDougal** of Whitewater fame are selling dirt from the **Clinton**'s own Lot 24 at $23.90 a cubic foot.

—SW

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SCAN

WELFARE SHOWDOWN IN THE SENATE

Decades of so-called "welfare reform," complains Missouri Senator John Ashcroft, have tinkered "at the margins" of a "bankrupt" system. Yet even after the watershed election of 1994, many Republicans still succumb to the tinkering temptation: witness the timid "welfare reform" proposals put forward by the Senate's Republican leadership.

Ashcroft and his colleagues Lauch Faircloth (R-N.C.) and Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) have recently introduced a much bolder reform bill whose provisions include:

◦ Expanding from one to nine the number of federal welfare programs transformed into block grants to the states.

◦ Terminating those federal agencies, programs, regulations, and workers whose failed efforts will be replaced by state and local action.

◦ Creating stringent work requirements for welfare recipients.

◦ Using tax credits and other means to aid poor couples who marry, parents who adopt, and persons who volunteer with charities.

• Prohibiting welfare to new legal immigrants for their first five years.

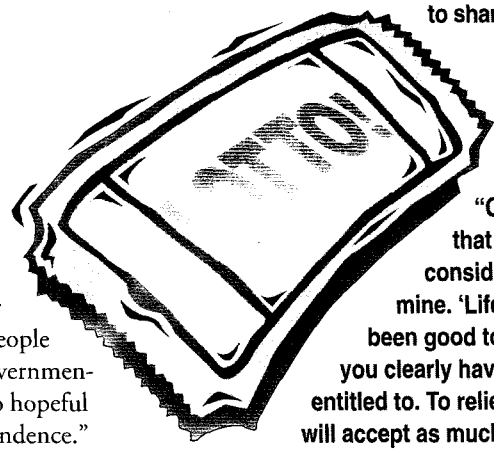
• Prohibiting Supplemental Security Income benefits to persons "disabled" by alcohol or drug abuse.

• Above all, prohibiting direct cash benefits to mothers who are minors or who refuse to establish their children's paternity, and prohibiting extra benefits for additional children borne by women while they are on welfare. These measures attempt to reduce illegitimacy, the source of many of today's worst underclass pathologies.

"The true measure of our reforms," says Ashcroft, "will never be in dollars saved, in bureaucrats cut, in programs reduced, but in our ability to move people from hopeless governmental dependence to hopeful economic independence."

As we go to press, the bill has 24 cosponsors and the strong support of William Bennett, the Family Research Council, the Traditional Values Coalition, the Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for America, and others. Its fate at the hands of Senate "moderates," however, is uncertain.

SHARE AND SHARE ALIKE



"Those who have prospered and profited from life's lottery have a moral obligation to share their good fortune."

—remarks by House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) in support of tax reform

"Congressman, I note that your annual income is considerably higher than mine. 'Life's lottery' sure has been good to you! By your lights, you clearly have more than you are entitled to. To relieve your conscience, I will accept as much of your annual 'good fortune' as you are ashamed to keep. A stamped, pre-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience."

—Letter to Congressman Gephardt from Mr. B. E. Hughes, concerned citizen

OUR MONOTONE UNIVERSITIES

Universities have worked assiduously to racially diversify their faculties in the past few decades. Unfortunately, academia's notion of diversity has completely ignored diversity in the intellectual realm: conservative professors are an almost-extinct species on many campuses today.

It's not news that universities are dominated by left-wing ideologues, but empirical evidence to corroborate this reality has generally been lacking. My recent analysis of the political affiliation of faculties at two elite universities gets some of the relevant facts on the table.

By checking public voter registration records, a colleague and I were able to determine that Cornell University's history department has 28 registered Democrats but no registered Republicans. Democrats outpolled Republicans 35 to 1 in the English department. In the Women's Studies and Africana Studies departments there were a combined 38 Democrats and no Republicans. (See table on page 8.)

Over 2,000 miles away a similar political imbalance exists at Stanford University. The English department, for instance, has 33 registered Democrats and only 2 registered Republicans. In the history department, Democrats outnumber Republicans 22–2. Investigation into the faculties at other top-notch schools yield similarly lopsided results.

The paucity of Republican professors presents this question: Is there discrimination against conservatives at our nation's top universities? For years, liberals have argued that the underrepresentation of minority professors is *ipso facto* proof of racism, and they have implemented affirmative action programs to reach the goal of proportional representation. Since Republicans represent over a third of the electorate, and an even higher proportion of the college-educated population, perhaps universities should recruit intellectually conservative professors with the same zeal they display for balancing flesh tones.

Political lopsidedness does not bode well for the educational process. While today's students are taught by professors of diverse skin colors, they are not exposed to a diversity of ideas. What are the chances that students in a women's studies course will read, along with the usual litany of feminist works by Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and Naomi Wolf, books by critics of modern feminism like Christina Hoff Sommers and George

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Gilder? Even in traditional departments such as history, many students are exposed only to leftish interpretations of American history. Sadly, the university, once dubbed the free marketplace of ideas, has been transformed into a gray one-party state where only one set of views thrive.

*—**Kenneth Lee** is a student at Cornell.*

Political Party Affiliations of Professors

	CORNELL UNIVERSITY			STANFORD UNIVERSITY		
Department	**Democrat**	**Republican**	**Independent/ Other**	**Democrat**	**Republican**	**Independent/ Other**
History	29	0	0	22	2	0
Government/Poli. Sci.	16	1	4	26	4	1
English	35	1	2	31	2	1
African-American Studies	5	0	1	12	0	0
Women's Studies	33	0	3	5	0	0
Economics	10	3	5	21	7	0
Psychology	25	1	1	20	0	1
Anthropology	11	1	3	15	1	2
Sociology	7	0	2	11	1	1
TOTAL	**171**	**7**	**21**	**163**	**17**	**6**

Sources: Tompkins County Board of Elections and Santa Clara County Registrar of Voters.

ALTERNATIVE TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

For years, government assumed that the best way to aid minority contractors was by quotas, set-asides, and other forms of reverse discrimination. But now the Supreme Court has declared many of these programs unconstitutional.

An Austin, Texas non-profit called the National Council of Contractors Association (NCCA) may offer a healthier alternative for aiding minority business aspirants, one that involves no affirmative action crutches or coercion. The NCCA, which began its operations in 1993, provides small minority firms with expert advice about how to win contracts, with donated accounting services, and, most critically, with help obtaining bonding. Small businesses can't get construction work without completion bonds that guarantee clients their projects will be finished even if a firm defaults on its contract. But given the tight market in the bond business, most companies won't issue these bonds to unproven contractors.

In league with the NCCA, however, the Standard Group, a large bond broker, has begun offering special bonding help. Stacy Taylor, the Standard Group CEO, explains that he decided to help minority businesses not just for altruistic reasons, but because the idea made good business sense, since these new companies might be long-term customers once they became established enterprises. "We're in the business of creating independent business people," Taylor says. The accountants who offer reduced fee services through the NCCA also hope that struggling small businesses will remember their help once they become more successful.

Though there are no racial or gender restrictions in NCCA aid, most of the businesses it helps are minority- or women-owned enterprises. Between January 1994 and May 1995, NCCA helped 83 firms win 171 contracts. The Standard Group issued bonds worth $31.5 million and didn't have a default on any of them. (Only one of NCCA's clients had previously been able to obtain a bond.) Because these small businesses won contracts by underbidding larger competitors, the city of Austin saved over $1 million in public works expenses, and thus recouped the initial cost of a grant it gave to help launch the NCCA.

The NCCA hopes to become a national organization and use its Austin experience to aid minority businesses in other cities.

TELECOMMUTING GETS REAL

Judging by its Washington office you'd think the massive Lexis/Nexis computer information network was downsizing: they've sliced their office space by nearly one-half just this year. But the company is not struggling through a painful restructuring, it's instituting a new program that enables its sales force to work from home.

"Our field salespeople spend most of their time out of the office anyway," remarks spokesperson Judi Schultz. "So it just made sense for them to work out of their homes" in between customer visits. Lexis/Nexis has replaced traditional office space with smaller "business centers" that house administrative staff, training and meeting rooms, and cubicles where workers can set up temporary shop as needed.

Lexis/Nexis supplies each home worker with a laptop computer, an office printer/fax machine, two telephone lines, software, and a furniture allowance. Although these purchases are costly, Deb McKenzie, the project manager, notes that savings from forgone office space rapidly overtake equipment expenditures. The company also anticipates higher productivity from its workers.

"People love it," says McKenzie. "They don't have to worry about being downtown at night, they can flexibly attend to personal errands, and they can work relatively uninterrupted. It requires self-discipline and self-automation," she admits, "but we find our staff adjusting well."

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TAKE TWO ON SISTER SOULJAH

Earlier this year a full house at Yale University heard rap musician Sister Souljah explain the Afrocentric philosophy in her new book, *No Disrespect*: "In American society, I means I, but in African philosophy, I means *we*, and the African philosophy of life is to achieve balance and harmony." This from the same mistress of harmony, balance, and good feelings who tangled with candidate Bill Clinton in 1992 over her suggestion that perhaps black men ought not be murdering other black men, but rather white men instead.

TEAMWORK IS GREAT—TOO BAD IT'S ILLEGAL

Under our Depression-era labor laws, a "high performance workplace" with intense labor-management collaboration is illegal in a nonunion company. Even though more than 88 percent of American workers don't belong to a union, a company with a nonunion workforce has only two options under the law in dealing with its employees—dictate work rules and conditions of work without any employee input, or turn the operations of the business over completely to the employees. If employers' actions fall anywhere in between these two extremes—commonly known as cooperation—they risk violating section 8(a)(2) of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935.

Over 30,000 workplaces rely on "employee involvement" today, and most progressive employers don't even realize they could be breaking the law. Companies like Polaroid, Donnelly, and EFCO, however, are now in legal proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for the sin of having twenty-first-century employee relations.

Goaded on by unions having difficulty organizing facilities with high employee involvement, the NLRB has been aggressively pursuing such companies. If a company is found in violation, the board orders their employee involvement program dismantled, leaving the employer with no option but to return to a dictatorial style of labor-management relations.

Recognizing the need to modernize a 60-year-old statute, Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-Wisc.) and Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kans.) have introduced the Teamwork for Employees and Managers Act to legalize employee involvement in nonunion settings. Teams of employees and employers would be free to discuss important issues of mutual concern.

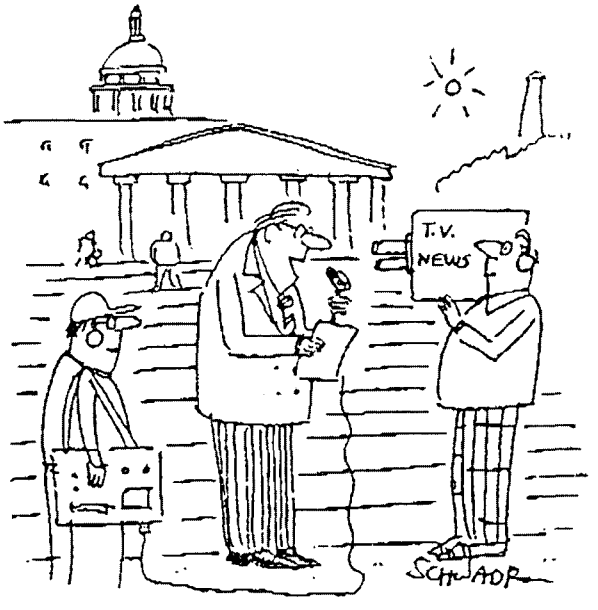
Although business strongly supports the TEAM Act, the Clinton administration has vocally opposed it. Labor Secretary Robert Reich, who once lauded the concept of employee involvement as a tool to boost productivity, profits, and worker satisfaction, now takes his cues from unions who fear worker-management cooperation would reduce their role, and says he now opposes the concept. Vice President Al Gore announced at the AFL-CIO's annual meeting that President Clinton would veto the TEAM Act. Yet the Democratic Leadership Council—a group of centrist Democrats once chaired by Governor Clinton—recently complained that the administration's pandering to organized labor endangers "sensible labor-law reforms that would allow a more participatory workplace."

Despite the resistance of labor unions nd their supporters, a workplace cooperation act along the lines of TEAM is likely to pass the House this fall.

THE 'DEINDUSTRIALIZATION' HOOPLA

In this issue devoted to work, the problems we don't have to worry over are at least as significant as those that we do. One of the most remarkable "non-problems" in the American economy today is the health of American industry. Economic journalist Robert Samuelson summarizes the story this way in a *Washington Post* article: "Dial back your time machine about a decade. You'll find plenty of newspaper and TV stories warning of 'deindustrialization.' American manufacturers (it was said) were being pulverized. The Japanese were overwhelming our automakers, repeating their triumph in steel. Computer-chip makers were rapidly losing ground. Americans had forgotten how to make things. It was only a matter of time before U.S. manufacturing sank into oblivion and we became a nation of 'hamburger flippers.'

"None of these dire predictions came true.... Yet the story of the comeback of U.S. manufacturing is still undertold and ill-appreciated.... In 1994 the United States produced more cars than Japan for the first time since 1979. U.S. companies account for half of global shipments of fiber optic cable.... Between 1980 and 1994, U.S. manufacturing output rose more than 50 percent. In the past three years, it has increased 15 percent. It is



From the *Wall Street Journal*, Permission, Cartoon Features Syndicate

"In a compromise move to cut the budget, Congress and the president agreed to move the decimal one point to the left."

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now twice as high as in 1970 and five times as high as in 1950.

"In 1991 the United States regained its position as the world's largest exporter. In 1993 the U.S. share of global exports was 12.8 percent, compared with Germany's 10.5 percent and Japan's 9.9 percent. The American computer-chip industry is again the world's leader. General Motors and Ford are still the first and second largest auto companies. American companies still dominate in aerospace, computer software, and entertainment; they are strong in paper, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals, among others.

"Industrial productivity (efficiency) has increased at its fastest rate in decades.... Since 1980 the man-hours needed to produce a ton of steel fell from about 10 to 4. Quality is also increasing. In one survey, two-thirds of respondents felt product quality had improved in the past five years."

Samuelson concludes his column with a cautionary: "If government had decided to revive manufacturing in the mid-1980s, we'd still be arguing over who should be helped and why." As it turns out, he writes, "the best policy was to insist that companies and workers help themselves."

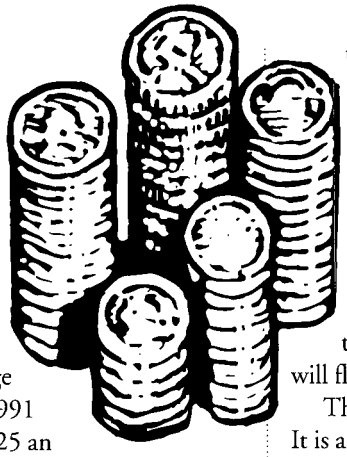
THE MINIMAL LOGIC OF A MINIMUM WAGE HIKE

In his January State of the Union address, President Clinton called for raising the minimum wage from $4.25 to $5.15. This increase was necessary, he argued, to ensure every American "a living wage": "you can't make a living on $4.25 an hour."

It's easy to sympathize with the image of household heads struggling to provide for their family on a minimum-wage job. But the president is wrong to assume his proposal would benefit such people.

The irony of the minimum wage is that it harms many of the people it's supposed to help. By raising the price of their labor, a minimum-wage hike lowers the number of low-skilled workers employed. In the past, social reformers judged this job loss acceptable, since the increased wages flowed predominantly to poor families. But that latter outcome is no longer the case.

Over time, the proportion of minimum-wage workers with household incomes below the poverty line has fallen dramatically, and now numbers only one in five. A recent study we conducted with Andrew J. Glenn found that when the minimum wage was increased in 1991 from $3.35 to $4.25 an hour, it cost employers $4.5 billion, but only 28 percent of that rise went to families with incomes below 150 percent of the poverty line. Blacks received 17 percent of the wage hike, and female-headed households 24 percent. Fully 38 percent of the increase went to minimum-wage workers in families whose incomes were at least three times the poverty line.



Not only were most families who gained from this minimum-wage hike not poor, but only a small minority of the working poor gained. Most working poor, you see, already earned more than $4.25 per hour. The poverty of this group stemmed mostly from their low hours of work or from the large size of their family, not from low wage rates.

Raising the minimum wage would do little to assist the working poor. Protecting the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) from budget cuts, however, might help. The EITC was established in 1975 as a way to return some of the Social Security taxes withheld from the wages of low-income workers with children. Rather than a typical governmental scheme to redistribute income from taxpayers to non-workers via benefit checks, the EITC is a way to let the working poor keep more of their own money. Between 1989 and 1992, EITC rules were substantially liberalized, reducing poor people's taxes by more than $4 billion.

Our research shows that 59 percent of EITC benefits go to poor or near-poor households. Blacks and female-headed households receive a much larger share of the benefits conferred by the EITC than they did from those of the minimum-wage increase in 1991. And only 4 percent of EITC benefits go to families with incomes over 300 percent of the poverty line. Although the *total* dollar benefits from the EITC are smaller, the poor received 30 percent more dollars from it than from the 1991 increase in the minimum wage. In addition, almost all of the working poor—not merely those earning below $4.25—were helped by the EITC. We estimate that 72 percent of the increases in the EITC scheduled through 1996 will flow to poor or near-poor families.

The EITC does have serious problems. It is a tool of government income redistribution by way of the tax code, a controversial undertaking to begin with. And it can encourage workers near its upper income cutoffs to reduce their work effort in order to retain eligibility. In its current form it also appears to be a favorite instrument of tax cheaters.

But the greatest obstacles to fixing the EITC and using it as a tax-rebate mechanism that "makes work pay" is the unwillingness of some members of Congress to face the real costs of their income-transfer policies. For even though a minimum-wage increase is clearly inferior to the EITC as a means of putting money into the pockets of low-income persons, the costs of a minimum-wage jump are borne by private employers and their customers, and are thus out of sight, while the EITC shows up in the federal budget. The real value of a minimum-wage hike to a member of Congress who favors income redistribution is that it allows him to obscure the cost of his policies.

But that doesn't change the economic reality: The minimum wage is not an effective way to aid the working poor.

*—**Richard V. Burkhauser** and **Kenneth A. Couch** are Syracuse University economists.*

A PERFECTLY LEGAL PROCEDURE

She still has recurring nightmares—flashbacks, like a soldier back from Vietnam: "I see the baby, its hands and legs moving. Then the scissors jab, and the body goes limp. It haunts me."

Despite what you might think, Brenda Schafer, a 38-year-old registered nurse from Franklin, Ohio, is not a witness to a gruesome crime. She is an eyewitness to a perfectly legal procedure going on across America under the cover of

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abstract, pious words that all sensible people believe in—words like, "a doctor-patient relationship" and "a woman's right to choose."

The procedure is called a partial-birth abortion, and perhaps 500 to 4,000 of them are carried out every year. According to Brenda, it is impossible to exaggerate the procedure's horrors. Here is what she saw the day the temp agency assigned her to Dr. Martin Haskell's Dayton, Ohio abortion clinic: "The whole baby was delivered, except for its head. I could see the hands and legs moving. Have you ever seen a baby fling out its arms when it is startled? That's what it looked like. I saw Dr. Haskell insert a pair of scissors, then the baby flinched. He inserted a high-power suction catheter [to remove the brain tissue], and the baby went limp. I almost threw up all over the floor." The baby was not defective and, at a gestational age of 26-and-a-half weeks, was well past the 23 to 24 weeks doctors consider the point of viability; most premature infants born at that age do pretty well.

There were six partial-birth abortions that day in that clinic alone. Brenda assisted in three of them. One mother sought an abortion because her baby had Down's syndrome; the other two carried babies with no defects. One mother was a 17-year-old unwed woman. The other, whose partial-birth abortion is described above, was a married 40-year-old with a grown son who apparently decided, rather late, that she didn't want a change-of-life baby.

While the larger issue of abortion is of course enormously controversial, we know that practices like partial-birth abortions, abortion for sex selection, and late-term abortion are strongly opposed by large majorities of Americans. Aiming to bring some peace to the abortion wars by at least eliminating these most offensive procedures, the House Committee on the Judiciary recently approved a bill to ban partial-birth abortions. Abortion-rights advocates, however, have made it clear they will accept no limitations of abortion on demand, at any time or for any reason. NOW president Patricia Ireland has denounced the House bill, while Barbara Bradford of the National Abortion Federation sent out talking points for abortion defenders that urged: don't apologize, it's a legal procedure.

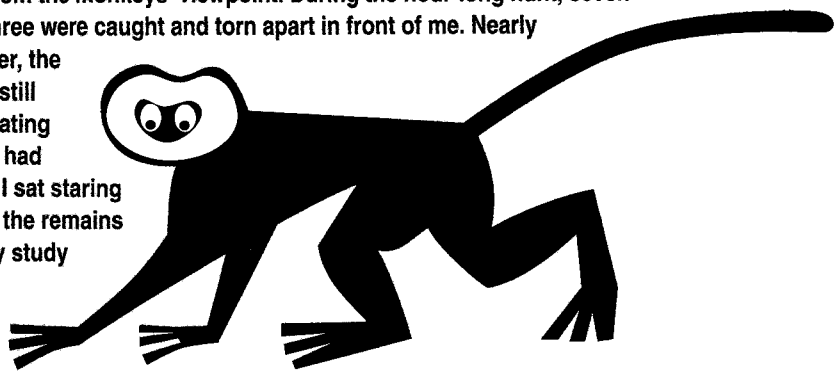
Brenda says she once believed in the noble-sounding slogans of the pro-choice movement: "I have four teenage daughters. I told them if they got pregnant, I'd make them have an abortion." Like many Americans, she was fiercely committed to abortion rights in the abstract; it was the reality she literally couldn't stomach.

When it was over, the mother who underwent a partial-birth abortion that day insisted on seeing the results. So Brenda and the other nurses cleaned it up, wrapped it in a blanket, and put the corpse of a little baby in her arms. Face-to-face with what she had done, the woman began crying inconsolably, repeatedly pleading, "God forgive me."

*—**Maggie Gallagher** is a nationally syndicated columnist for Universal Press Syndicate.*

THE CIRCLE OF DEATH

A Berkeley anthropologist has discovered that nature's "circle of life" can be a somewhat harsher mechanism than the children's cartoons suggest. While he was observing a group of red colobus monkeys he had been following for some time, a party of 33 chimpanzees arrived. They proceeded to act like wildlife. The professor notes: "The result was devastating from the monkeys' viewpoint. During the hour-long hunt, seven were killed; three were caught and torn apart in front of me. Nearly four hours later, the hunters were still sharing and eating the meat they had caught, while I sat staring in disbelief at the remains of many of my study subjects."



THE STATES REFORM HEALTH CARE

Medical savings accounts are an idea that has gone extremely rapidly from think-tank pie in the sky to practical reality. Recently, Virginia, Idaho, and West Virginia enacted laws encouraging consumers to establish medical savings accounts. Earlier in the year, Utah did likewise, and Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Michigan, and Mississippi passed bills in 1994. Missouri passed the first legislation creating medical savings accounts in 1993.

State officials enacting the accounts describe them as a way to give consumers more choice and authority in their health-care decision-making, and as a way to harness free-market powers to improve efficiency and reduce medical costs, without government controls.

Typically, the new state laws allow individuals who so desire to purchase a high-deductible health insurance policy and then put their savings from lower premium costs in a tax-deferred savings account to

THE GIFT OF LIFE

Kenzaburo Oe is a Nobel Prize-winning author whose son Hikari was born severely deformed. Japanese doctors recommended to the father that the boy be allowed to die. But having seen the bravery of atomic-bomb survivors at Hiroshima, Mr. Oe decided he could not refuse his son a chance at life.

Today, Hikari is 31 years old and a composer of classical music. His two CD recordings have sold more than 300,000 copies. Mr. Oe, an agnostic, is quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* with this reaction: "Sometimes I am afraid of the possibility that there is a God who gave him to me."

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accumulate over time. All principal contributed to the account by employee or employer, plus any interest earned, is exempt from state tax. Consumers can make withdrawals at any time for medical treatment or preventive care. A number of trial experiments show that medical savings accounts make consumers much more cautious about running off to the doctor for trivial reasons, but also likelier to purchase useful preventive and elective care that would have been forgone, because regular insurance might not cover it.

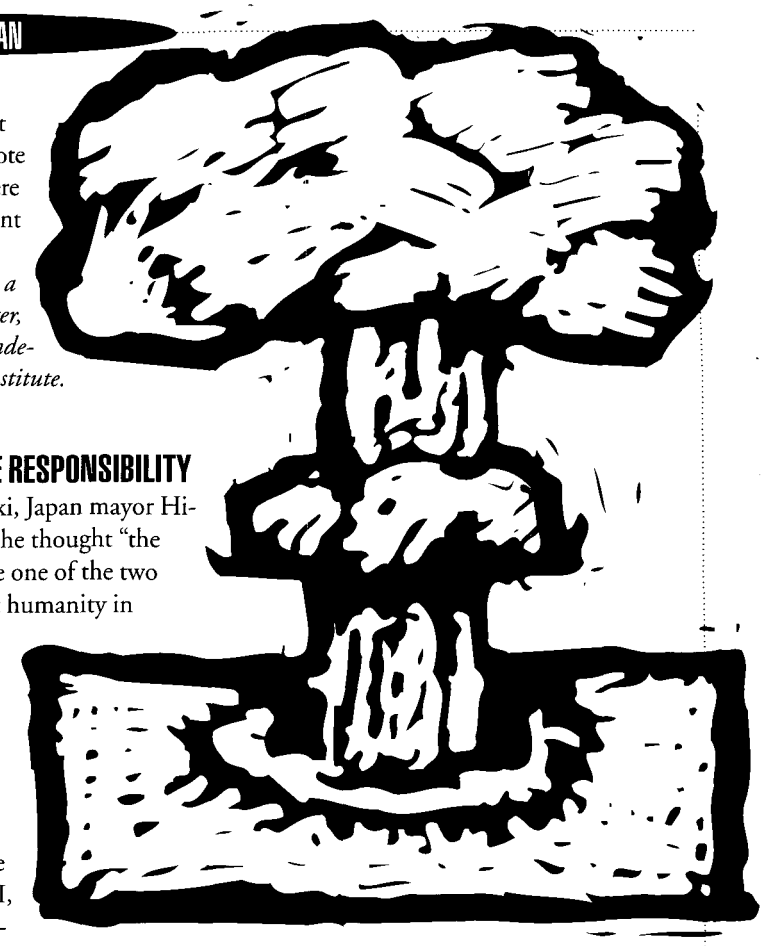
With 10 states having enacted laws, and bills pending in 26 other states, it would seem to be only a matter of time until Medical Savings Accounts get serious consideration at the national level.

BALLOT TEST OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

This fall, residents of the state of Washington will have a chance to vote on Initiative 164, the most serious political expression of the U.S. property rights movement to emerge yet. Officially known as the Private Property Regulatory Fairness Act, it's the same proposal that passed through the state senate in April with support from legislators of both parties before foundering on Seattle-based opposition. It would require the state to identify the economic impact of new land-use regulations, to choose the least burdensome rules to accomplish its land-use objectives, and to compensate landowners for lost property.

The prospects for the measure look reasonably good. In April, the Seattle polling firm of Elway Research released a poll showing 69 percent of state residents favored prohibiting "regulation of private property unless an agency first publishes a statement that analyzes the economic impact and identifies benefits for public health and safety that will result from the regulation." When asked if every government agency should have to "consider alternatives and choose the action that accomplishes its goals with the 'least possible impact' on private property," 82 percent said yes. Seventy-five percent said they would favor requiring "a government agency to pay a landowner for any drop in property value resulting from regulations unless the regulation is needed to prevent a public nuisance." Overall, 44 percent of the public said back in March that they were inclined to vote for the initiative, 25 were against it, and 31 percent were undecided.

*—**Jim Christie** is a Seattle writer, formerly with the Independent Institute.*



MISSING: JAPANESE RESPONSIBILITY

Not long ago, Nagasaki, Japan mayor Hitoshi Motoshima said he thought "the atomic bombings were one of the two greatest crimes against humanity in the twentieth century, along with the Holocaust." To which columnist Don Feder responds: "Strange, I don't recall European Jewry: (1) conquering several countries at the outset of World War II, (2) enslaving and murdering their inhabitants, or (3) bombing a German naval installation as its declaration of war....

"Germany has admitted its culpability for the crimes of Nazism, paid over 3.9 billion deutsche Marks to Hitler's victims, and does its best to suppress neo-Nazi organizations. Japan will show the same responsibility and remorse when hot sake freezes over."

Meanwhile, 4.5 million Japanese have signed a petition against a resolution admitting war guilt that is pending before Japan's parliament.

POLICING SHOULD BE LOCAL

Our Constitution does not provide a general police power to the federal government, as the Supreme Court recently reaffirmed in the case *U.S. v. Lopez*. Nevertheless, over 60 years of expansive interpretation of federal authority have left us in a situation where national agents, increasingly armed, now exert police powers over citizens on many fronts. More and more, however, especially in the West, interventions by federal officers from organizations like the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management are being challenged by local residents who are outraged at how little respect U.S. agents show for their concerns or way of life.

In an attempt to "prevent misadventure resulting from a lack of cooperation or communication" between federal and state law enforcement officials, Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-Idaho) has introduced a bill that would require nearly all federal officials to obtain permission from a county's chief law enforcement official before making any arrest, search, or seizure in that jurisdiction.

Chenoweth's bill does not address the real source of the problem—whether a particular matter is the federal government's business to begin with. But reining in the federal government to its enumerated powers is not a project for a single bill, or for Congress alone, and Rep. Chenoweth's concern is rightly with preserving lives and public peace.

The original Constitutional decision to leave police powers to the states rests on a clear principle: those who enforce the laws most intimately affecting the people's welfare and impinging most closely upon their morals and way of life should live among and be directly accountable to the

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subjects of those laws. The wisdom of that judgment is vividly illustrated by differences in the way the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) and local law enforcement handled alleged violations of the law by David Koresh.

A few years before the BATF's disastrous raid in Waco, Koresh was involved in a gun fight over the leadership of the Davidians. Officers from the sheriff's department appeared while the battle was still being fought and arrested Koresh and several others. Although armed, Koresh surrendered and made no effort to resist. Charged with attempted murder, he was later acquitted.

Koresh also permitted a social worker to enter Mount Carmel to investigate allegations of child abuse. Despite this history of cooperation with authorities, and despite the fact that Koresh had, prior to the raid, invited the BATF to come and check his firearms (a fact finally admitted by the BATF in the recent congressional hearings on Waco), the BATF appears never to have seriously considered a non-confrontational execution of their search warrant.

Because the BATF agents did not live in Waco or answer to its citizens, they were not concerned with what the locals would think about a warrant being served on one outlaw via a military assault on a compound filled with women and children. Freed from the constraints of community, the BATF appeared at Waco in full battle regalia, prepared for war as if upon alien and enemy territory, never fearing the judgment of neighbors who knew them.

There is no greater spur to misconduct than anonymity. There are few greater brakes on misconduct than the desire to preserve a good name. When law enforcement is removed from the community level, not only is political accountability lost but also the more powerful and everyday accountability that comes of having to look friends and fellow citizens in the eye.

Federal police actions run amok—as in Waco and in the siege of Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge—are the inevitable result of transferring police power from state and local jurisdictions to Washington. So long as we demand solutions on drugs, firearms, wetlands, endangered species, and, increasingly, violent crime, from federal agencies and agents—rather than from authorities closer to the people—we can expect more of the same.

*—**Jeffrey Snyder** is a New York attorney and publisher of* Arms, Law and Society.

IMPOLITICS IN AMERICA

Congressional Quarterly has recently supplied political junkies with their biennial fix, *Politics in America 1996*, the directory of the 104th Congress. This hefty almanac rests on the desks of every lobbyist and congressional staffer in Washington, for one never knows when its mini-biographies of the Men and Women Who So Selflessly Serve might come in handy. (We know one young Washington blade who used it to read up on the home congressional districts of potential dates—a real conversation starter.)

Thumbing through it on a rainy day one is amused by its streaks of open tendentiousness. Take its many signals on the issue of firearms confiscation. *Politics in America* tells us that Arkansas Democrat Blanche Lambert Lincoln opposed the Brady Bill because she has "many rural constituents wary of change." (Why not, "protective of the Second Amendment"?) Peter Fonda look-alike Senator Max Baucus (D-Mont.) sometimes has to "appease his constituents" by voting against gun control. Senator Bob Kerrey (D-Nebr.) exhibited "quiet political courage" in supporting the assault-weapons ban against the wishes of his (no doubt change-wary) Nebraska constituents. A question for *C.Q.*: Would an urban liberal like Charles Schumer have demonstrated "quiet courage" if he had opposed weapons bans?

The profiles are generally admiring, if not fawning, unless the subject is under indictment or has shown maverick tendencies. The prickly but stoutly parsimonious Wisconsin Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner is "officious," "pompous," and "rude," though he does possess one redeeming feature: he's "not an absolutist on gun rights." The underwhelming Senator Carol Moseley-Braun (D-Ill.) is an "eloquent spokeswoman" and "something of a voice for the concerns of many modern American women"; her nemesis Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) speaks in "tirades." And so it goes.

New members of Congress, take heed: if you want to get a good notice in *Politics in America*, try not to be "rigidly anti-government" (as Minnesota Senator Rod Grams is). And please, please, don't appease the change-resistant morons back home.

NATIONAL DEBT CRUNCH LOOMS

The "Debt Limit Coalition," a bipartisan group of more than 150 members of Congress, means to block any further expansion of the U.S. debt ceiling unless a plan is already in place to balance the federal budget by the year 2002 or sooner. Without expanded borrowing authority—the administration would like the limit hiked from its current $4.9 trillion to $5.5 trillion—the federal government will run out of money in October. Led by Michigan Republican Nick Smith, Debt Limit Coalition members say they are willing to see the government endure a prolonged cash flow crunch this fall if that is the only way to guarantee an end to federal deficit spending by 2002, and they have already introduced legislation establishing priorities for an orderly temporary shutdown of some government functions should a debt showdown lead to that. The White House seems to be taking the threat seriously.

ROB v. BOB

When senator and presidential candidate Bob Dole criticized Hollywood in June for its negative influence on violence and morality in America, filmmaker Rob Reiner responded hotly on NBC's *Meet the Press*. Now it turns out that even long before the senator from Kansas stuck his neck out, Reiner had an attack on Dole and other conservatives in the offing.

A few weeks ago I sat through an advance screening with Reiner of his next film. It's called *An American President*, and it stars Michael Douglas as an incumbent liberal president with a character problem—a character problem unfairly manufactured, that is, by a villainous Republican challenger named Robert Rumson who happens to be a senator from Kansas.

Douglas's character, Andrew Shepherd, is a Clinton/Dukakis clone with a spunky 12-year-old daughter. (No, she's

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not named Amy or Chelsea.) But Shepherd is extra clean and sympathy-inspiring: he's a widower.

This poor, brave, fatherly, good man decides that getting a watered-down crime bill passed is the best thing he can do before the next election. But his young aide Louis, played by Michael J. Fox (see George Stephanopoulos), wants Shepherd to try for a tough gun control law or environmental bill instead. The president, who always checks with his pollsters before making decisions, says no.

An environmental lobby group—wanting auto emissions reduced by 20 percent instead of the 10 percent the White House is offering—hires high-powered female lobbyist Sydney (often referred to by three names), played by Annette Bening. Lobbyist and president dance together at a state dinner, have another date, and have sex.

Republican challenger Rumson is delighted, because where he lacked anything substantive to attack the president on before, now he can use the "character issue." The challenger is shown slashing the president in front of a Christian Coalition audience and on CNN-style public affairs programs. The subtle senator suggests that the three-named-woman is a flag-burner and a whore.

In some political dealing, the president trades votes on the environmental bill for support on his crime bill, effectively selling out Sydney. But near the end of the film, with his popularity plummeting to 41 percent in the polls, President Shepherd rises up in righteous indignation and takes on the mean old Republican conservatives. In a speech before the White House press corps, he defends his woman and says he will debate Rumson on real character issues anytime and anywhere. The president proclaims proudly that he is a card-carrying member of the ACLU and wants to know why anyone who believes in the Bill of Rights isn't. In the next sentence he tells people he's going to sponsor a tougher crime bill even if it means going door to door to confiscate guns himself. At the end of the film Andrew and Sydney are reunited.

Sure was mean of Bob Dole to launch an unprovoked attack on Hollywood, wasn't it?

*—**David Geisler** is a Southern California writer who covers Hollywood.*

DEMOCRATS AGAINST TIME WARNER

The crusade against Time Warner's support of violent and misogynistic rap music picked up steam as two prominent Democratic officials came on board. Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.) held a press conference to announce he would be appearing with William Bennett and C. DeLores Tucker in radio ads critical of the company's "overly violent and hypersexed entertainment"—or "garbage," for short, as Lieberman puts it. The group has also sent a second letter to Time Warner's board of directors.

But perhaps even more consequential than these public criticisms may be the actions of Democrat H. Carl McCall, the comptroller of the State of New York. Mr. McCall, who is black, controls the state's employee pension system, which owns 3.6 million shares of Time Warner. He has publicly criticized the company and put them on notice that if they don't take serious steps to correct their cultural pollution problem, he will "take further action." (For further evidence of public disgust with the American entertainment industry, see the poll data on page 106.)

HOLLYWOOD GETS ONE RIGHT

When word spread around the Apollo fraternity that Ron Howard was going to make a movie about Apollo 13, old hands were pessimistic. Hollywood had done the space program before and had never gotten it right. But Jerry Bostick, a Mission Control specialist during Apollo, had been hired as a technical consultant, and his

TIME WARNER HYPOCRISY REPORT 1995

"The soul of this enterprise...resides in...thousands of individual acts of conscience," says Time Warner CEO Gerald Levin. A slick "Time Warner Social Responsibility Report 1995" put out recently by the company projects a sterling image. But the company's actual behavior is much less lustrous—as the comparisons below, assembled by Empower America, demonstrate.

THEY SAY	THEY SELL
"We contribute to...fund[s] for children of officers killed in the line of duty." [Time Warner Social Responsibility Report]	**"It's a 1-8-7 [California penal code for murder] on a muthaf***in' cop...so what the f*** does a nigger like you gotta say?" [Snoop Doggy Dogg]**
"With the help of Warner Music Group... recording artist Tori Amos cofounded the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network.... RAINN helps 115,000 survivors of sexual abuse annually." [Time Warner Social Responsibility Report]	**"Look at the ass on that b****.... All you ladies are 'hos.... B**** you know you've been f***ed by many.... Freaky b**** with plenty of ass.... Bend over backwards and make me shout." [2 Live Crew]**
"Today's children need the coping skills to avoid drugs, guns, and violence.... HBO and Warner Music...teamed up to create a series of seven public-service announcements aimed at deglamorizing guns and violence." [Time Warner Social Responsibility Report]	**"I'll slaughter your mother. So open up the door to the slaughterhouse, so I can kill a little more. Ya muthaf***er.... All we want to do is murder, murder, murder, kill, kill, kill." [Masta Ace Incorporated]**

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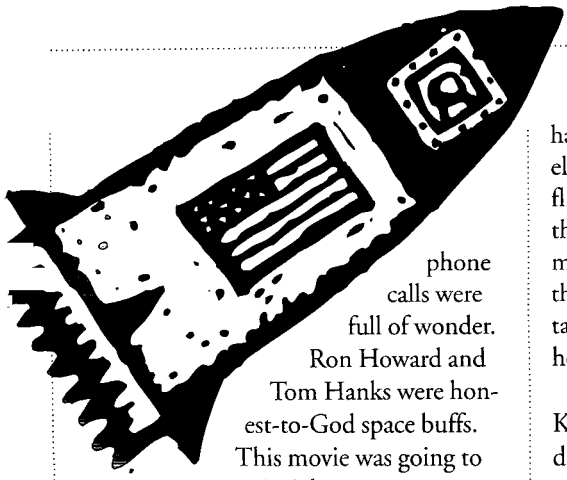

phone calls were full of wonder. Ron Howard and Tom Hanks were honest-to-God space buffs. This movie was going to get it right.

And so it did—as right as any movie is ever going to in portraying an event where much of the drama cannot be captured visually. When you read that the Apollo people approve of *Apollo 13,* it is not just flackery. They really do. So do my wife and I, who spent the better part of five years hanging out with Apollo people in the course of writing a book about the program. But I will still treasure the details that the movie couldn't communicate.

In the movie, the launch is shown on large television screens at the front of Mission Control. In reality, one of the weirdest aspects of being a flight controller was that you did not see the launch (which would have been distracting). While the rest of the world listened to the roaring engines and saw flames billow around the launch tower, all that a flight controller could observe was an uninflected voice at the Cape saying "liftoff"—whereupon some of the numbers on the screen of his console began to change.

And that's another thing: in the movie, the consoles have graphic displays. The real controllers for Apollo 13 had only columns of white numbers—hundreds of them—radiating on a black screen, undifferentiated by font or boldface or any other kind of user-friendly formatting. When a problem arose, there were no warning buzzers, no flashing alerts, nothing at all except a number that showed a value that the flight controller knew from memory ought to be something else.

In the movie, Mission Control in crisis is a place where the flight controllers stand in knots, arguing with each other with passionate voices and anguished expressions. During the real thing, an outsider watching in would have had a hard time noticing that anything unusual was happening. The action took place over electronic voice loops that linked all the flight controllers to each other and to their back rooms. Fear and anguish were most definitely part of Mission Control that night, but they are detectable on the tapes of the voice loops only in fleeting hesitations and inflections.

In the movie, flight director Gene Kranz is rightly portrayed as an indomitable force, brusque and tough as nails. He was all that—which makes his actual behavior during the first hour of the crisis the more fascinating. As the crisis built, Kranz's voice over the voice loops became increasingly casual, even gentle, as he moved from one controller's problems to another's. I never heard Kranz sound that way in the tapes of any mission before or after Apollo 13.

I especially regretted one omission and one flat-out misrepresentation.

The omission was flight director Glynn Lunney's performance. Without slighting Kranz's role, the world should remember that it was Glynn Lunney, barely visible in the movie, who took over the flight director's console 69 minutes after the explosion. It was he who for the 10 hours of his team's shift orchestrated a masterpiece of improvisation that moved the astronauts safely to the lunar module while sidestepping a dozen potential catastrophes that could have doomed them.

The misrepresentation involves Grumman Corporation, which designed and built the lunar module. Grumman is personified by a fat engineer who keeps trying to dodge responsibility. In reality, Grumman had been perhaps the finest of all the Apollo contractors, and during the days of Apollo 13 its engineers worked to exhaustion in support of the rescue.

But these are nitpicks. Hats off to Ron Howard, who pulled off something that no one else has done in the last quarter-century: getting large numbers of Americans to appreciate the splendor of the Apollo program, the one achievement of this century that we can be sure will still be part of the history books a thousand years from now.

—***Charles Murray*** *is an AEI Fellow whose books include* Losing Ground, The Bell Curve, *and, with Catherine Cox,* Apollo.

GET YOURS NOW

An opportunistic Detroit printing company called Omnigraphics had the brilliant idea to publish a whole book devoted to the subject of how to get money from one of today's 1,370 federal domestic assistance programs. "These programs represent more than $835 billion worth of federal assistance now available to a wide range of users," notes the sales release for the book. "Appealing to a wide range of users," it continues, "*Government Assistance Almanac 1995-96* covers grants, loans, insurance, personal payments and benefits, subsidies, fellowships, scholarships, traineeships," and more. The book is 880 pages long.

P. Steiner. Reprinted with permission from *The Washington Times.*

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LEADERSHIP. Companies that have it possess the vision to reinvent themselves by recognizing and leveraging global business opportunities. ▲ The way Rockwell, over the last ten years, has transformed itself into a dynamic commercial force.

▲ Today Rockwell's leadership is reflected in a sales mix that is more than 70 percent commercial and international business.

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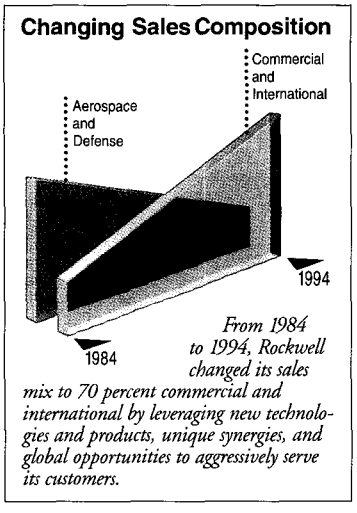

From 1984 to 1994, Rockwell changed its sales mix to 70 percent commercial and international by leveraging new technologies and products, unique synergies, and global opportunities to aggressively serve its customers.

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maintaining our leadership positions in aerospace and defense electronics. ▲ Whether we're putting our Collins avionics on every major airline. Putting our brakes on 75 percent of all new big rigs. Printing two-thirds of America's daily newspapers on our Goss presses. Or building a $3.5 billion global industrial automation enterprise with our Allen-Bradley and Reliance Electric businesses. ▲ It's time to change your perception of Rockwell. For further information about our activities, write to Rockwell, P.O. Box 4251, Dept. AEU, Seal Beach, CA 90740-8251. These days, we're a very different company from the one you think you know.

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By Karl Zinsmeister

Indicators

DATA ROUNDUP ON WORK

■ **Work Works** A report on *The Black Population in the U.S.* released earlier this year by the Census Bureau showed that a troubling 27 percent of all African American families are officially poor. But among black families whose householder works full-time all year, only 6 percent are poor.

■ **Momma, Don't Let Your Daughters Grow Up to Be Lawyers** Nationwide, fully 40 percent of all associates at law firms are now women. This female talent is coming into the profession at a time when it is falling sharply in public esteem, however. Polls show that 75 percent of the public wouldn't want their children to become lawyers.

■ **Home Work Assignments** According to Labor Department data, approximately 20 million people conducted work at home in May of 1991. Of these, 7.4 million were people who worked *only* at home. Three-quarters of those folks are self-employed, which may not surprise you. But would you have guessed that most of the work-only-at-home individuals are men (57 percent)?

■ **The Job Whirl** The extraordinary easy-in/easy-out fluidity of the American labor market is illustrated by data from the National Longitudinal Survey. After interviewing a sample of young American men and women every year since 1979, the survey finds that between his 18th birthday and the time he reaches his thirties, the typical person in this country holds eight different paying jobs, totaling nine years of work experience.

■ **Jobs for Everyone and Anyone** The fluidity of the American labor market also shows up in unemployment statistics. Ninety percent of all U.S. workers who become jobless find a new position in less than six months. Only 63 percent of unemployed persons in Japan can say the same thing, and in the nations of the European Union just 33 to 43 percent of the jobless (varying by country) get rehired within six months. Fully 40 to 50 percent of out-of-work Europeans (again, varying by country) have been jobless for more than a whole year.

■ **Does Government Owe You an Income?** One reason European unemployment is much longer-lasting than in the United States is because employers are more heavily regulated, and government benefits for the out-of-work are fatter. These differences reflect important differences in public attitudes toward work, earnings and income. Asked whether it is "government's responsibility to reduce income differences" between workers, only 39 percent of the Americans say yes, versus 80 percent of Italians, 53 percent of Swedes, and 66 percent of Germans. Asked whether government should guarantee people a minimum annual income, about two-thirds of all Italians, Germans, and British insist yes, compared to just 34 percent of Americans.

■ **Advanced Technology Makes Workers Richer, Not Poorer** A factor that has helped keep the American labor force busy and flexible is the rapid application of new technology to jobsites. It's obvious that this helps companies expand production and reduce costs, but it is often claimed by skeptics that new technology hurts workers—by replacing them, turning them into passive button-pushers, and eliminating high-paying skilled-craft jobs. Research from the Department of Commerce, however, demonstrates that introducing advanced technology to the workplace actually benefits workers in the form of higher wages. "Drawing on a data base of over 10,000 U.S. manufacturing plants, researchers found that technology-intensive plants pay significantly higher production-worker wages than plants that adopt few or no advanced technologies. The average hourly wages paid by plants...ranged from $8.63 at plants using no advanced technologies to $11.84 at plants using six or more such technologies," summarized the government report.

■ **Those Dangerous Rest Homes** Job hazards don't always come where you might expect. One of the sectors with the very highest worker injury rates is the nursing home industry (lifting patients is the main hazard). With injury and illness incidence of 17 cases per 100 employees per year, nursing home work is more hazardous than logging (14 cases), construction (12), and coal mining (10).

■ **Self-Employment and Ethnicity** The rate of self-employment varies dramatically according to ethnic and racial background. Only 3 percent of Laotian men and 4 percent of black men were self-employed in 1990. This compares to nearly 30 percent of all men from Korea or Israel. There are also big differences between the sexes—across a variety of ethnic groups, women run about half as many businesses as men. The overall self-employment rates for men and women in the United States were 11 percent and 6 percent respectively.

■ **Fast-Lane Status** Technological gadgets have become the ID badges of competitive professionals today, yet it seems some people are more interested in appearing productive than in actually being so. A manufacturer of phony cellular car phone antennas—which can instantly lend the look of a power worker's carriage to any humble vehicle—has reportedly sold more that 200,000 of the fakes.

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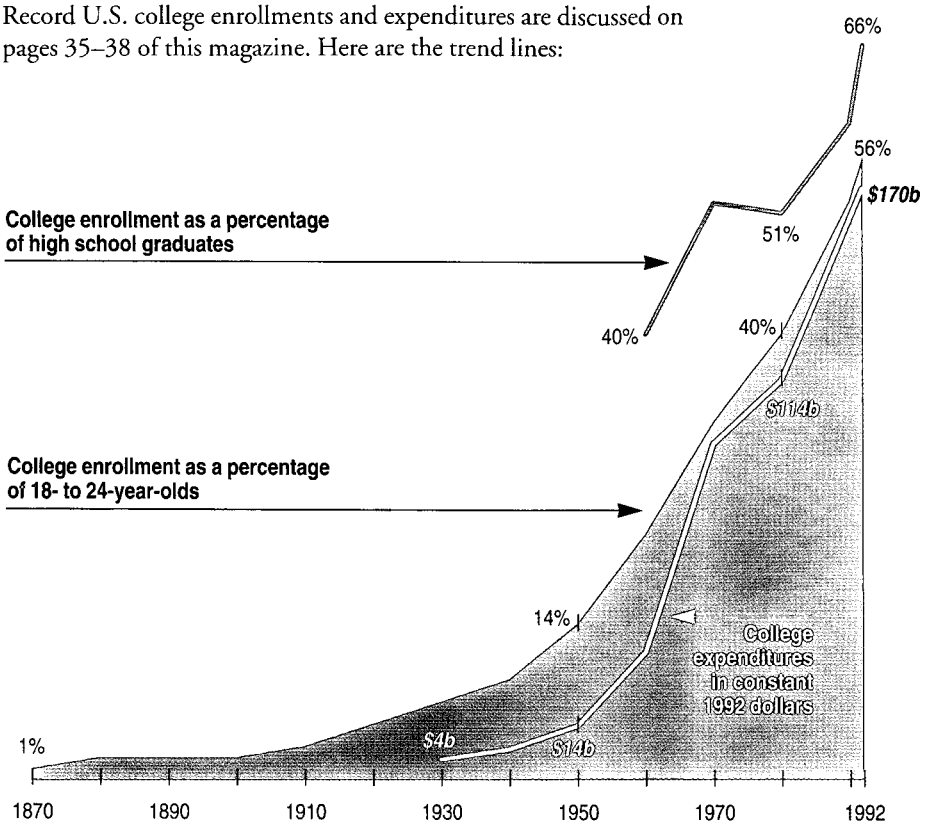
COLLEGE-GOING EXPLOSION

Record U.S. college enrollments and expenditures are discussed on pages 35–38 of this magazine. Here are the trend lines:



Sources: *Digest of Education Statistics; Historical Statistics of the United States.*

WHITE DISTRICT/BLACK REPRESENTATIVE

One of the arguments in favor of gerrymandering voting districts along racial lines is the claim that minorities can't get elected without special districts. Recent races, however, indicate this is not true. Some black politicians, Democrat and Republican, elected by predominantly white constituencies in recent years:

Black elected official	Office	State or City	Black Constituents
Douglas Wilder	Governor	Virginia	18%
Carol Moseley-Braun*	U.S. Senator	Illinois	15%
Gary Franks*	U.S House of Representatives	Connecticut	4%
J.C. Watts*	U.S House of Representatives	Oklahoma	7%
Alan Wheat	U.S House of Representatives	Missouri	24%
Ronald Dellums*	U.S House of Representatives	California	32%
Walter Tucker*	U.S House of Representatives	California	34%
David Dinkins	Mayor	New York	28%
Tom Bradley	Mayor	Los Angeles	14%
Norman Rice*	Mayor	Seattle	10%
Emanuel Cleaver*	Mayor	Kansas City	30%
Freeman Bosley, Jr.*	Mayor	St. Louis	48%
Elihu Harris*	Mayor	Oakland	44%
Wellington Webb*	Mayor	Denver	13%
Sharon Belton*	Mayor	Minneapolis	13%
Robert Nix*	Chief Justice State Supreme Court	Pennsylvania	9%
Roland Burris*	State Attorney General	Illinois	13%
Pamela Carter*	State Attorney General	Indiana	7%
Carl McCall*	State Comptroller	New York	18%

* = currently in office

Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; *Values Matter Most*, Ben Wattenberg; Editor's data.

THE BOSS WILL BE RIGHT WITH YOU

A lot more Americans own businesses, and shares in businesses, than belong to unions. So much for class warfare.

Percentage of all households:	
Owning stocks	21
Owning a business	19
Owning part of their employer through an Employee Stock Ownership Plan	12
Belonging to a labor union	16

Sources: New York Stock Exchange; Census Bureau; I.R.S.; National Center for Employee Ownership; U.S. Bureau of Labor.

GENDER GAP IN BLACK EDUCATION

Data from the American Council on Education and the National Center for Education Statistics show that during the period 1981–1991, the number of African Americans receiving college degrees in traditionally popular fields like the social sciences and education flattened out, with black students showing expanded interest instead in business, engineering, and health-related professions. The total number of degrees in these latter areas, while growing fast, remained small, however—3,482 black engineering degrees in 1991, for instance. Strikingly, **women received nearly two-thirds of the associate, bachelor's, and master's degrees earned by African Americans in 1991, men only one third.**

AFRICAN AMERICAN EXEMPLARS

Gallup periodically asks black Americans for their opinions of various African-American individuals and groups. The admired ones are quite a mixed bag:

How Well Do These Persons or Groups Represent Your Views?

	Very well or Somewhat well	Not at all	Never heard of
Jesse Jackson	76%	11%	—%
Blacks in Congress	61	7	7
Colin Powell	46	6	30
Clarence Thomas	40	27	5
Louis Farrakhan	33	28	21
Gangster rappers	13	54	14
NAACP	71	10	1
Nation of Islam	29	32	11

Source: Gallup, 1994. Remainder answered "a little" or had no opinion.

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MAINSTREAM ENVIRONMENTALISTS

To test how "mainstream" environmental leaders are, professors Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter recently surveyed 100 individuals drawn randomly from the senior staffs and boards of directors of such groups as the Sierra Club, the Environmental Defense Fund, and the Natural Resources Defense Council. The results, published in their forthcoming book *Cancer as a Political Disease*, show the nation's environmental leadership to be an ideologically uniform and quite statist group. Only 3 percent of the sample voted for George Bush in 1992, and only 2 percent voted for Ross Perot. **Eighty-seven percent pulled the lever for Bill Clinton. Sixty-three percent describe themselves as liberal or very liberal; only 8 percent rate themselves as conservative.** They show little support for market solutions for environmental problems, and only 19 percent believe that businesses achieve a fair balance between profits and serving the public. Only 6 percent agree that government regulation of business generally does more harm than good (among the general populace, *10 times* as many people—61 percent—agree with that statement). The **activists are also four times likelier than the general public to have a family income over $75,000.**

ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND THE PRESS VS. SCIENTISTS

In their forthcoming book (see item above), Lichter and Rothman also compare the views of environmental activists with those of scientific experts. They find that the two groups differ sharply on many environmental topics. Some examples:

	Environmental activists	Scientific specialists
There is no cancer epidemic	27	67
Industry causes rising cancer rates	64	30
Human activities cause global warming	49	19
Nuclear power plants are "very safe"	10	51

Source: Roper Center; Gallup; and Center for Media and Public Affairs data.

Asked to rate various environmental factors as cancer risks, environmentalists again diverge from scientists, voicing much more worry over pollution, power plants, and man-made chemicals in particular:

Estimates of severity of cancer hazard (0–10 scale)

	Environmentalists	Scientists
Dioxin	8.1	4.7
Asbestos	7.8	6.5
EDB	7.3	4.2
DDT	6.7	3.8
Pollution	6.6	4.7
Fat in diet	6.0	5.4
Food additives	5.3	3.2
Nuclear power	4.6	2.5
Saccharin	3.7	1.6

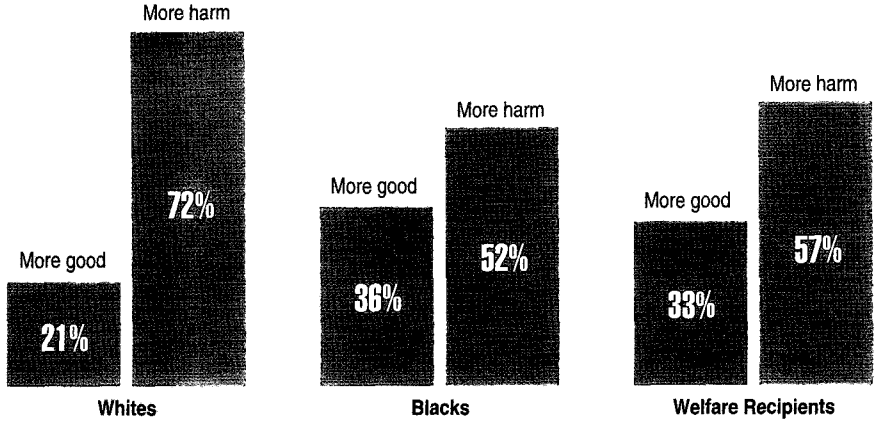
Source: Roper Center; Gallup; and Center for Media and Public Affairs data.

As a final element of their study, Rothman and Lichter conducted a content analysis of media coverage on cancer causes. Then they compared the press coverage to the views of research scientists. Their conclusion is that reporters tend to convey the views of activists much more than those of researchers. "The **experts quoted in the national media on environmental issues consistently reflect the positions of activists rather than the actual scientific consensus** as determined by expert surveys," they write.

On cancer causes, for instance, the news media follow environmentalists in emphasizing things like pesticides and nuclear energy, while scientists stress tobacco, sunlight, and diet. One result of this media exaggeration, Rothman and Lichter point out, is that **scientists give major media outlets very low ratings for their coverage of environmental subjects.** For their reporting on cancer, for instance, scientists score the network TV news programs and the *New York Times* at only 3.2 and 4.7, respectively, on a 10-point scale.

DOING MORE HARM THAN GOOD WITH WELFARE

Motivated by deep concerns that the real cost of welfare today is not the financial burden it places on government but rather the broken families, poor habits, and economic dependence it encourages, the House of Representatives this spring passed a dramatic welfare reform plan. The proposal has bogged down in the Senate, however, over claims that, for all of the flaws in our current welfare system, we'd be worse off without it. The American public, though, has already made up its mind on this question. When *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News pollsters recently asked a national cross-sample, "Do you think the welfare system does more good than harm, because it provides assistance and training for those who are without jobs and live in poverty, or does more harm than good because it encourages the breakup of the family and discourages the work ethic?" more than two-thirds said it hurts rather than helps. All sub-groups, including even past and current welfare recipients, said the nation would be better off, on net, without today's welfare system:



Source: *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News Poll, May 1995

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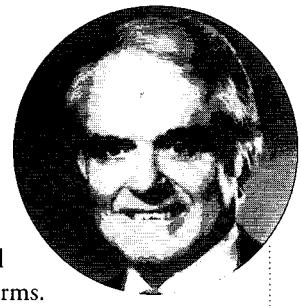
Two Views

DOES CONCERN FOR CHILDREN'S UPBRINGING JUSTIFY RESTRICTIONS ON THE LIBERTIES OF ADULTS? IRVING KRISTOL AND JACK VALENTI HAVE TWO VIEWS.

Children, Hollywood, and Censorship



Last year, Britain experienced a cultural shock when Elizabeth Newson, head of the child development unit at Nottingham University, issued a report on the effect on children of violence-rich videos. Signed by 25 psychologists and pediatricians, all of the liberal persuasion, the report stated, "Many of us hold our liberal ideals of freedom of expression dear, but now begin to feel that we were naive in our failure to predict the extent of damaging material and its all-too-free availability to children." They added that "by restricting such material from home viewing, society must take on a necessary responsibility in protecting children from this, as from other forms of child abuse."

A storm of controversy ensued. A Labour member of Parliament introduced legislation to limit the availability of such "video nasties." The movie industry, much of whose profits come from videotape sales, cried "Censorship!"—which, of course, is what was being advocated. Then, inevitably, unreconstructed liberal academics insisted that no one had ever proved a causal relation between television violence and aggressive behavior by the young. This was both true and false. It was true such clear-cut, causal relations are beyond the reach of social science because too many other factors influence behavior. It was false because there is an abundance of circumstantial evidence so strong as to raise no reasonable doubt in the minds of ordinary people, and of parents especially.

THE GOVERNMENT, AT VARIOUS LEVELS, WILL HAVE TO STEP IN TO HELP THE PARENTS.

Brandon Centerwall, a professor of epidemiology at the University of Washington, has summarized much of this circumstantial evidence, focusing on the effect of television when it was introduced to rural, isolated communities in Canada and when English-language television came to South Africa in 1975. In all cases, violent crime rose dramatically, especially among the young.

Like most human phenomena, aggressive impulses are distributed along a bell-shaped curve, and significant effects occur at the margin: "If an exposure to television causes 8 percent of the population to shift from below-average aggression to above-average aggression, it follows that the homicide rate will double."

Centerwall concludes that "the evidence indicates that if, hypothetically, television technology had never been developed, there would today be 10,000 fewer homicides each year in the

Suppose every Sunday at church you heard the preacher denounce the devil and all his handiwork in unambiguous terms. And then one Sunday the preacher inexplicably changes course, saying, "Well, perhaps we might be able to use the devil every now and then to do things we seemingly can't do for ourselves, so let's not totally exile him." It would surprise you, would it not? Which is why Irving Kristol's embrace of government censorship was to me the equivalent of the preacher consorting with Satan.

I count Irving Kristol to be one of the sanest, most readable and persuasive of commentators who exalt free markets, free expression, free enterprise. Now he is vexed. The villain? "Popular culture" (movies, television, music, cable, prerecorded videocassettes).

He scolds the creative community and declares that government intervention is the only remedy. He plainly states this is censorship. Nonetheless, he encourages the government to act. Lamentably, he is mute on the torment this will inflict on the Constitution, which he has often cited as the title deed of our freedoms.

The central evidence he summons is a study done by a Professor Centerwall. I have read this study. Even a Texas savings-and-loan hustler would blush to endorse Centerwall's quirky conclusions. One is staggered by the enormity of Centerwall's ragged "hypotheticals."

That Irving Kristol, this brilliant, far-sighted political philosopher who has retrieved for us so many truths we too often casually ignore, buys into Centerwall's version of what the Japanese call *zaru ho* (a wicker basket that is supposed to hold water), only proves that when a man is determined to believe, the absurdity of the doctrine only serves to confirm this faith.

Frankly, there are some movies and other works inhabited by language or action or violence or sensuality that I find soiling. But I have a remedy. We all have a remedy. Don't watch, don't listen, don't subscribe, don't patronize. Whatever happened to individual responsibility?

If we probe the prime cause of anti-social behavior, how do we gauge the role of abject poverty, of homes without the daily guiding moral compass of parents, of babies having babies, of too many guns in the hands of too many children, of lies and cheating in business and public officialdom? What is the societal effect of the slackening of discipline in the schools, the faltering trajectory of the church, the breakdown of family ties as the central core of civic virtue?

If you cut the wires to every TV set in the land, would that action abolish the ills that infect us? Would it immunize us

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United States, 70,000 fewer rapes, and 700,000 fewer injurious assaults. Violent crime would be half what it is."

So the evidence for some kind of controls over television (and tapes) is strong enough to provoke popular and political concern. Modest limits on adult liberties ought to be perfectly acceptable if they prevent thousands of children from growing up into criminal adults.

Something will surely be done about this problem, despite my friend Jack Valenti, the ACLU, and other extreme interpreters of the First Amendment. The idea that our popular culture can have malignant effects upon society, and especially our young, seems to be an idea whose coming cannot be long delayed.

And if there is a connection between our popular culture and the plague of criminal violence we now suffer, then is it not reasonable to think that there may also be such a connection between our popular culture and the plagues of sexual promiscuity among teenagers, teenage illegitimacy, and, yes, the increasing number of rapes committed by teenagers?

Can anyone really believe that soft porn in our Hollywood movies, hard porn in our cable movies, and violent porn in our rap music is without effect? Here, the average, overall impact is discernible to the naked eye. Clearly, something must be done to lower the temperature of the sexual climate in which we live. And whatever is done will limit the freedoms of adults to indulge their sexual fantasies.

Censorship, some will say, is immoral—though no moral code of any society that has yet existed has ever deemed it so. And it is authoritarian, Valenti and others will complain. But when he and I grew up, unharmed, in an America that accommodated various forms of censorship, the country had far less reason to fear authoritarian rule than it does now, as violence and family breakdown lead to turmoil that only a police state will be able to control.

Lastly, we will be told, censorship is ineffectual. But again, those of us who have lived in a slightly chillier sexual climate have survived as witnesses to the fact that it is not so ineffectual after all. True, censorship makes a difference only at the margin. But in sexual activity as in economic activity, the margin is where the crucial action is.

The most common (hypocritical and politically cowardly) response to the problems generated by our overheated sexual climate is that these are something parents have to do something about. But parents never have been able to do it on their own. They have always relied on churches, schools, and the popular culture for help. Today, no such reliance is possible.

The mainline churches, intoxicated with a vulgarized Freudianism, have discovered that sex is good and repression is bad. The schools hand out condoms to adolescents while timidly suggesting that they ought to limit their activity to "responsible sex"—an official invitation to promiscuity. The culture, meanwhile, is busy making as much money as possible out of as much sex as possible.

No, the government, at various levels, will have to step in to help the parents. The difficult question is just how to intervene.

Irving Kristol, an American Enterprise Institute fellow, co-edits The Public Interest *and publishes* The National Interest.

against the lacerations of the human spirit that every day in every city cast a shadow over our doors and pave inner-city streets with despondency?

The issue to be regarded seriously is whether or not we have reached that hard, cold place in our history when we can no longer count on individuals to be responsible for their lives, when we throw up our hands and say TV is ruining us and in order to regain our moral balance we must rid ourselves of popular culture's audiovisual blight by enlisting the authoritarian fist of government? Are we so beguiled by our own failures that we turn to government as our "surrogate parent" to save us from ourselves? Didn't the public in the polling booths last November announce its lack of affection for "government solutions," a voting decision that Mr. Kristol and his persuasive prose and ideas helped shape?

I HAVE A REMEDY.
DON'T WATCH,
DON'T LISTEN,
DON'T SUBSCRIBE,
DON'T PATRONIZE.
WHATEVER HAPPENED
TO INDIVIDUAL
RESPONSIBILITY?

Can Mr. Kristol tell us who will make these censorship judgments for all of us, the rabble and the dolts? What group among us is so all-wise, so divinely inspired that they can pronounce this "okay," this "not okay." Will they be elected or appointed, or will they be canonized by spirits unseen? What is "too much"? Where will the line be drawn and how narrow or wide its boundaries? Can the most creative of all the art forms, the telling of stories on film, be immune to the reality of life in the neighborhoods and in the streets?

And if we have a censorship board of moral guardians, who will guard the guardians? Have we forgotten that for too many long years movies and television in the Soviet Union were devoid of anything counted to be unsuitable by the Kremlin's handpicked Communist cadre?

Alas, because poverty, guns, drugs, irresponsibility, disrepair of school and loss of faith in church are so seemingly insoluble, the only easy fix is to ban what we don't like in theaters and on TV by introducing our citizens to the deeper discomforts of government censorship.

I refuse to believe that Mr. Kristol has evicted from his creed his distaste for authoritarian rule. And yet, and yet, there is this niggling, nagging despairing notion that that is precisely what entices him. Which is why I and others who so admire Mr. Kristol can only plead, "Irving, say it isn't so!"

Jack Valenti is chairman and CEO of the Motion Picture Association of America and former special assistant to President Johnson.

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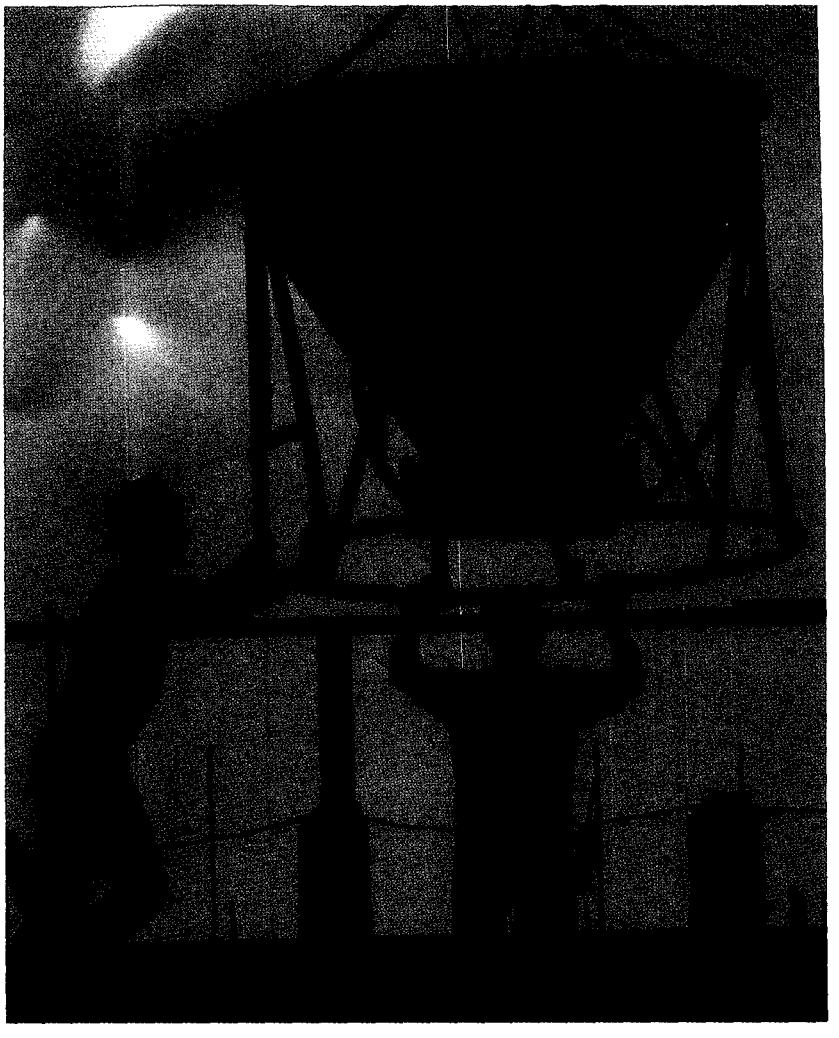
From Underclass to Working Class

How profit-making firms pull marginal laborers into self-sufficiency



Dave is a black ex-convict in Dallas. He's hooked on cigarettes and alcohol and I'm not sure what else. He has little education, little money, poor manners, and no credible job experience. He also happens to be a likable person once you get to know him, but the typical employer or landlord is not going to find this out. In the normal course of events, Dave could be jobless and homeless.

But today Dave is lucky, for an unusual organization has taken him under its wing. It has given him a bed, a warm, safe place to sleep, a hot shower, and doughnuts and coffee for breakfast. It has found him a job, given him the equipment he needs for the job, provided transportation to and from the work site, supplied a sandwich for lunch and a five-dollar advance on his pay in case he needs to buy something more during the day.

The organization helping Dave onto his feet is not a federal job-training program, not a church shelter, not a city youth corps. It's a private, profit-making company that receives no government aid of any kind and, indeed, pays $1.4 million in taxes to federal, state, and local governments.

The Dallas branch of Industrial Labor Service Corporation (ILS) is the largest employer of temporary manual laborers in the city—650 jobs offered on a typical day. It also operates a shelter named the Bunkhaus that accommodates up to 180 men per night. It pays its workers an average of $4.70 per hour and charges $7.50 per hour for their labor. From this $2.80 spread, it pays dispatchers, van drivers, salesmen, the computer operators who issue some 195,000 individual pay vouchers per year, 24-hour security guards, license fees, van leasing, rent, utilities, and, of course, taxes, taxes, taxes. After all these expenses, ILS still makes a profit of about 17 cents per hour of labor contracted. This achievement is remarkable given the competitiveness of the industry: some 15 firms in Dallas supply temporary manual workers. Furthermore, ILS's clients are also its competitors. They always have the option of hiring workers directly, skimming away ILS's best workers by offering them permanent jobs at a higher wage.

Yet ILS's success in the marketplace is not its greatest achievement. It is also (almost without knowing or caring about it) a highly effective social welfare program. This comes as a surprise. The down and out are supposed to require charity—handouts and compassion—not capitalists trying to make money from them. Yet a close look at ILS operations reveals that the theory of the invisible hand, whereby profit-seeking can unintentionally serve the public good, applies even in personal welfare programs.

Not that ILS is a welfare panacea: it aids only a particular kind of worker, not all those who have problems. Workers who are blind or crippled, for example, cannot be helped by ILS-type job brokers. Nor can those whose financial demands exceed minimum-wage employment. But for the kind of individuals who make up the core of America's dependent population—healthy individuals lacking motivation, organization, or contacts—the ILS Bunkhaus model offers valuable lessons.

by James L. Payne

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To learn about the ILS operation, I entered the system for a few days, slept in the Bunkhaus, and took jobs through the hiring hall. The Bunkhaus charges lodgers five dollars a night and covers its costs with this income. In demanding something from its customers, the company has to give something in return. Its biggest service, I realized, is security. As I gradually learned, most of the men staying in the Bunkhaus have done time in prison. Yet somehow just one manager and one security guard keep good order among this rough humanity. These staffers know how to screen out the worst troublemakers, exclude drugs, and cool off altercations before violence breaks out.

THE STEADYING, MOTIVATING INFLUENCE ON THIS LITTLE COMMUNITY IS WORK. THE REAL JOBS TO BE HAD AND MONEY TO BE EARNED PROVIDE AN ORDER AND CAMARADERIE TO THE SHELTER.

Part of their strategy is to allow the workers considerable freedom and to accommodate their needs. Smoking is permitted, and beer is allowed, although it cannot be brought in after 10 P.M. These concessions to human weakness respect the worker's dignity (after all, you can drink and smoke in a hotel room).

The workers, while predominantly black, are racially mixed, by the way, yet there is little sign of racial hostility. As I walked around the Bunkhaus one evening during a televised Dallas Cowboys football game, half a dozen blacks cordially offered me, a white stranger, a beer.

In addition to television, the Bunkhaus has laundry facilities, vending machines, a microwave oven, free coffee, free baggage check, and free blankets; it sells work shirts and jeans for $1. Naturally, some aspects would offend middle-class sensibilities. The toilets, for example, have no seats. The beds have bottom sheets but no top sheets, and most of us slept in our clothes. The night noises in the one-room dormitory of 150 men keep the newcomer awake at first, but one adjusts. On balance, the profit-seeking entrepreneurs of ILS have developed an excellent lodging value—a better deal in my opinion than the $30-a-night seedy motel beside the freeway where I stayed a few nights later. That others agree with me is proved by the fact that some workers continue to stay at the Bunkhaus even after they've progressed beyond ILS's temporary jobs and gotten steady employment on their own.

The steadying, motivating influence on this little community is work. The real jobs to be had and money to be earned provide an order and camaraderie to the shelter. The discipline of work sends the men to bed early, with lights out at 10 P.M., and propels them to rise when the lights pop back on at 4 A.M.

The hiring hall is located just around the corner from the Bunkhaus. Newcomers wait until a dispatcher at one of the windows announces a work opportunity. When jobs are few, the laborers crowd around the windows to be first in line. This seems unfair and arbitrary, for it rewards aggressiveness and might penalize a worker who waited patiently and politely for hours. Later, I saw its wisdom. Many who come to the hiring hall are rather unmotivated, or are even using it as a warm place to doze off drug or alcohol after-effects. If the firm sent such workers out on a job, employers would quickly be disappointed. Selecting candidates from those who crowd around the dispatchers' windows is a cheap, informal way of screening workers according to their motivation.

The real jobs provided at the hiring hall provide the men with a sense of accomplishment. Social policy today emphasizes self-esteem, but treats the concept mechanically, as if it were a substance that could be given out in doses like a pill. But it's not enough to tell someone, "You're the greatest!" He has to *know* he's done something worthwhile. Many government agencies will give someone money and pretend he's "working" for it, but the client knows this is a sham. In a dozen ways they sense the pointlessness of the projects: time wasted standing around, long breaks, endless "instructional videos" and fruitless "orientation sessions"—these are the stuff of government "job" programs. Enrollees see tasks left unfinished, foremen who disappear from the work site for long periods, a complete lack of urgency. What these signals reveal to enrollees is that *no one really cares whether this work is done.*

In a real job, where an employer "selfishly" demands productive labor in exchange for money, the worker can hardly escape gaining a sense of accomplishment. This applies even to manual labor, perhaps *especially* to manual labor. When you've dug a ditch or unloaded a 60-foot trailer truck, you know you've accomplished something that sets you apart from, and somewhat above, the soft and unproductive sectors of society.

But meaningful jobs don't grow on trees, and they cannot be dreamed up by administrators twiddling pencils at their desks. They come from the world of commerce and production. The most important figures in a work program are therefore not trainers or counselors, but the salespersons who find the real work opportunities. In a charitable agency this task is easily overlooked, but in any private firm the sales function is critical for survival. ILS has a sales force of five employees. They toil concentratedly to link the men under their oversight to paying employers—cajoling, encouraging, extending offers, so that ILS workers have a shot at a meaningful, dignity-enhancing job.

Workers at the bottom of the social scale commonly lack good habits. Arriving on time, doing what one is told, and not talking back can be problems. Government job-training programs have difficulty inculcating good work habits because they are funded according to the number of people served. Administrators have an incentive to tolerate disruptive workers just to keep up the program's client base.

In the profit-making world, the incentives are reversed. Employers' output depends on workers with good work habits, and so profit-seekers systematically discourage bad work habits. For example, on my first day with ILS, six of us were dispatched to a construction project in the Dallas suburb of Plano. After 15 minutes on the job, two workers were at the bus stop with their

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brooms and shovels, waiting for a ride back to Dallas. The foreman fired them because, among other things, they failed to stand up when he began to give instructions, and because they failed to put on their hard hats after he told them to.

The following day I too felt the lash of labor discipline. I had collected my job ticket and equipment to return to the same construction site and was waiting under an awning during a heavy cloudburst when my van was called on the loudspeaker. I figured I could wait a few minutes until the shower passed, but I figured wrong. By the time I reached the van, I had been replaced. This meant I dropped back into the newcomer's labor pool and didn't get another job for the rest of the day. Henceforth, I paid obedient attention to what the loudspeaker said.

Beyond wages and hours, every job involves many less tangible working conditions. In the world of marginal manual laborers, one of the most important of these side issues is how workers are treated socially. Because of their shabby dress and poor grooming, there is the temptation for those in higher positions to be inconsiderate to bottom-rung workers. I was surprised to discover that at ILS, the staff treats all workers with professional courtesy. On the Bunkhaus loudspeaker we were addressed as "gentlemen." At the dispatch windows and equipment counters, I saw no instance of a worker being treated roughly or unhelpfully.

One explanation for this politeness is the background of the staff: many have been temporary workers and sympathize with their plight. "Some guys think I'm too hard on 'em," says Bunkhaus manager Brien Colvin, "but with the majority of the tenants here, I feel pretty much well-liked. At least they know everything that I do I'm doing for their benefit. I've been on the other side of the fence, I know how it is. 'Bout seven years ago when I first came to Texas, I was homeless. So they can't tell me anything."

There's also an economic pressure for courtesy. No matter how grubby and unimpressive they may appear, these workers are necessary for the success of the business. They are customers, and the company needs to keep them coming back, for an empty labor hall spells trouble. When the employment market was especially tight in the summer of 1994, ILS offered a $5 sign-up bonus to attract laborers. Courtesy is yet another employment incentive.

The pressure to treat workers well comes from the highest level. "That was one thing Charles really came down on us about on his last visit," reports assistant manager Eric Veblen. "In the day-to-day rush, you know, you get careless about how you treat the workers, and it's good for someone to call you out about it." Veblen was referring to the principal owner of ILS, Charles Joekel, who drops by the Dallas branch office from time to time. Again, one is struck by the contrast with government. One could hardly imagine a senator or mayor visiting a tax-funded job center and reminding staff to be courteous.

THERE'S AN ECONOMIC PRESSURE FOR COURTESY. NO MATTER HOW GRUBBY AND UNIMPRESSIVE THEY MAY APPEAR, THESE WORKERS ARE NECESSARY FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE BUSINESS.

Pity tends to beget an intolerant style of helping others. When you feel sorry for someone, you are in effect disapproving of his way of life: the down-and-outer should get off drugs, stop wasting his money on cigarettes, get a steady job, and move into a home in the suburbs. If he fails to improve in the prescribed way—perhaps because he finds his life acceptable, or perhaps because of deep-seated character limitations—the helper becomes short-tempered and frustrated.

This "compassion fatigue" is beginning to undermine support for programs aimed at the needy. Reverend John Woods, who runs the Gospel Mission in Washington D. C., makes no bones about the growing mood of impatience. "People are getting tired of supporting the homeless and, quite frankly, so am I. People want to see change."

A market-oriented system offers an interesting contrast to this fickle charitable approach. In a commercial arrangement, there are no donors who demand lifestyle changes in return for alms, only buyers and sellers. ILS will help—give cash to, give food to, give shelter to—anyone who exchanges a day's labor. Since the company benefits from this exchange, it has no grounds for insisting on a lifestyle change, and no reason to be upset if it doesn't occur.

Near my bed in the Bunkhaus, there was an older man I'll call Ben who spent every free moment after work sitting on his bunk chain-smoking cigarettes, sipping coffee, and staring at the floor. Every few minutes, he interrupted his silence with a fit of hacking and coughing. Ben was white but the fingers on his cigarette hand were scorched a golden brown. Over the next few days, I chatted with him and observed him, trying to figure out what one might possibly do to rescue him from this pathetic pattern. I felt helpless to discern a solution. Then it dawned on me a solution wasn't required. Ben was not in a taxpayer-funded rehabilitation program that required he should change his ways; he was working and paying for his own bed. In a basic economic sense, his way of life was viable, and he was entitled to it.

Every year a small fraction of ILS workers do move on to better-paying, permanent jobs. An unknown number get beyond the drug, crime, and personality problems that beset them. But such social rescues are not the measure of ILS's success. Even if they never happen, the ILS system of aiding underclass workers like Ben rolls steadily along, powered by that great antidote to fatigue: self-interest.

James L. Payne is director of Lytton Research and Analysis in Sandpoint, Idaho. His latest book is Costly Returns: The Burdens of the U.S. Tax System.

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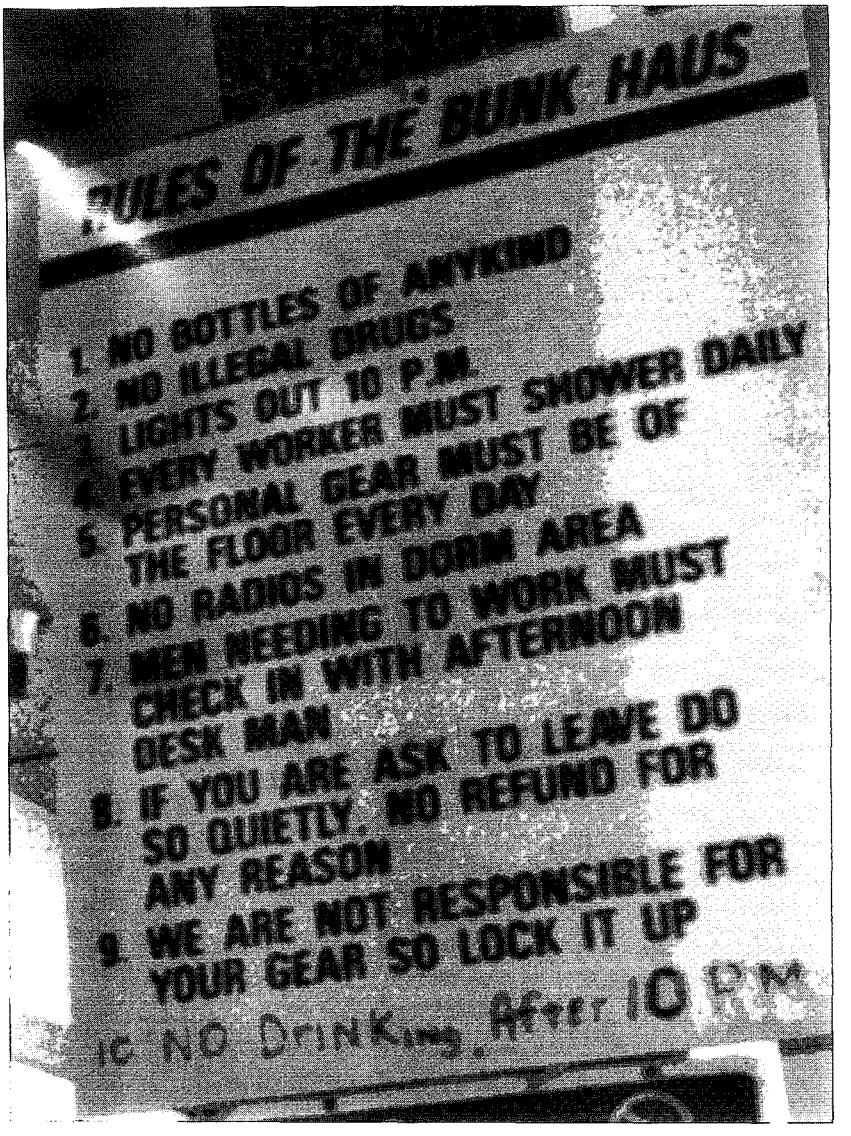

Firms that supply temporary manual labor make up a substantial economic sector. ILS alone has 20 branches in different cities. Nationwide, temporary service agencies employ over 600,000 manual workers. Socially useful as these firms are, one has to worry about their long-run chances for survival. When some observers encounter a company that makes a profit by hiring members of the underclass, they see workers being "exploited" and harmed by a company. The personal and societal benefits that flow out of the transaction are not always visible to them at first glance.

Many journalists succumb to this bias. For instance, in 1993 the *Dallas Observer* covered a crew of workers who erected temporary stands at a Dallas Cowboys practice field. The subsequent article, "A Dirty Job," set out to show that the notion that temporary laborers are treated "fairly and with dignity" is a "fairy tale." Yet in his minute-by-minute account, the reporter could not find any actual abuse or mistreatment. He built up his attack entirely with adjective and innuendo.

For example, he devoted four paragraphs to insinuating that laborers were overworked because they were asked to carry certain beams across a field, one beam to a man. How heavy were these beams? The reporter didn't say, but he implied they were unbearable. When a worker carried one, he declared, its weight "squashed the carrier's feet into the moist soil." While we are almost ready to shed tears for the overloaded laborers the reporter inadvertently destroys the effect by shifting attention to a "40ish white guy" with "something to prove" who "put one beam on each of his shoulders, and carried two at a time." So one beam per man was apparently a moderate load.

This hostile, straining-at-gnats coverage of the private employment scene compares strikingly with the way reporters cover government efforts. Just a few months before the story trashing the ILS appeared, the same paper ran a piece on a similar operation, the Dallas Youth Services Corps (DYSC). Like Industrial Labor Service, the DYSC takes unemployed, uneducated workers and gives them a minimum-wage job. Yet the DYSC received enthusiastic coverage, starting with the headline, "Building Up Hopes." From beginning to end, the reporter gushed uncritically about this "program to give uneducated, jobless kids a chance." While the workers in the ILS operation were portrayed as "dogs," lacking any constructive plans for their lives, the same kind of workers in the DYSC operation were portrayed as nobly striving to better themselves.

The DYSC was presented as obviously superior, even though ILS helps 650 workers a day and is going strong, while the DYSC, faltering due to lack of funds and compassion fatigue, was serving a mere 18 clients. The difference between the two organizations that was most significant to the reporters, no doubt, was their professed motivation. ILS is built openly on the principle of self-interest. The DYSC—a money-losing operation that costs taxpayers and private donors $500,000 a year—claims to be based on compassion.

Afflicted by a negative image and bad press, the temporary manual worker industry is also vulnerable to government attack. These firms suffer from the general burden of regulation and taxes that hinders all businesses, with every new tax or regulation, however well-intentioned, adding to costs and bringing them closer to unviability and shutdown. Last year, for example, ILS was compelled to close its hiring hall in Phoenix because Arizona workmen's compensation taxes became prohibitively expensive. Even in Texas, these charges are almost crippling: ILS has to pay the state workmen's comp system 51 cents per man-hour worked—a sum three times its profit margin.

Companies like ILS also face threats peculiar to their industry. Local governments' zoning and licensing regulations make life difficult for labor halls. In Dallas, the city council adopted deliberately stringent licensing and location standards for hiring halls in 1991 and nearly destroyed the industry. These firms, opponents

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claimed, had a "blighting effect" on local neighborhoods and were attracting crime and drugs. Real estate developers asserted that hiring halls made it difficult to upgrade the run-down parts of town where they were located. Anti-capitalist prejudice was also at work. The leader in the crusade against blue-collar labor halls was not an insensitive country club Republican but the council's foremost liberal Democrat, Lori Palmer. When day laborers came to a council meeting to demonstrate in support of the companies that give them jobs, Palmer never got the point. "They make a lot of money at your expense," she told the workers.

In the end, the city council was trumped by the Texas state legislature, which made the licensing of labor halls a state function and denied local governments the right to regulate them. The labor firms won this round, but it's not clear that in the long run they can withstand the steady onslaught from journalists and politicians convinced that any company making money by hiring destitute workers must, by definition, be harming them.

THE MOST IMPORTANT LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM COMMERCIAL FIRMS WHO WORK WITH CANDIDATES FOR THE UNDERCLASS IS THE IDEA OF EXCHANGE, THE NOTION THAT THE ASSISTED PERSON SHOULD GIVE SOMETHING IN RETURN FOR WHAT HE RECEIVES.

The efficacy of selfish motives is of course a point that shouldn't be extended too far. A profit-making business is actually an expression of much more than raw self-interest. It exhibits many generous motives as well, partly because good business requires decency. But even beyond business requirements, simple generosity figures in many commercial decisions because businesspeople are human beings with ordinary impulses toward kindness and cooperation.

ILS manager Pat Tammaro, for instance, takes pride in having instituted the practice of serving hot soup to workers in the hiring hall on cold days. It would be difficult to prove that this move is economically justified, that the cost of the soup is recovered in added profits for the firm. Certainly Pat made no cost-benefit study of it. He did it because it was broadly consistent with the idea of attracting workers, because it was within his budget, and because, like most people, he wants to be kind to others. Most business decisions work this way. Solutions are not dictated one way or the other by economic necessity alone, so other factors like the everyday impulse to be kind and creative play a significant role.

Those who deny a social role for business overlook this. Hostility toward business grows out of thinking that businessmen only seek profits, out of imagining that they are unbridled, rapacious looters who will inflict any harm on others to make their hoard. Businessmen, for their part, often encourage this naive, monochromatic image by doggedly insisting that they are in business *only* for the bottom line. In truth, entrepreneurs have numerous aims. Yes, they want to make a profit, but they also want to develop new ideas, to be respected, and to leave the world a better place than they found it. The success of labor firms in helping the underclass is by no means a simple victory for "self-interest." A company like ILS also exhibits aspects of benevolence.

But it should not try to be purely benevolent. Modern social policy has drifted into the view that unconditional giving is the way to help people in need: if people need food, give them food; if they need money, give them money. The lesson that commercial firms who work with candidates for the underclass could teach social reformers is the idea of *exchange*, the notion that the assisted person should give something in return for what he receives. Helping arrangements based on exchange avoid dependency, enhance self-esteem, foster social learning, and promote tolerance. A commercial firm automatically institutes these principles, out of necessity.

The great philanthropists and charity workers have long understood reciprocity. In operating his jungle hospital in Africa, for example, the missionary Albert Schweitzer carefully cultivated the practice of exchange by insisting that patients bring something of value—bananas, chickens, eggs, whatever—in return for the medicine received. He believed "the natives would value the hospital more if they had to contribute to its maintenance themselves according to their ability, than if they simply got everything for nothing."

In both the United States and England, virtually all the nineteenth-century poverty-fighters incorporated a *quid pro quo* philosophy in their efforts. Destitute men were asked to stoke fires; destitute women were asked to sew. Reformers like Octavia Hill in London repeatedly warned upper-class matrons against succumbing to shallow bursts of generosity. One-way giving, she taught, is a formula for ruining the very people you are trying to help.

This cardinal principle was thrown to the winds with the advent of government welfare programs in this century, and all Americans, poor and rich alike, are now suffering the consequences. We need to rediscover the principle of exchange and find ways of incorporating it into our efforts at uplift. One of the best ways to instruct ourselves on this point is to look at how commercial firms serve needy clients on a profit-making basis.

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Work not Welfare In Wisconsin

BY
WILLIAM D. EGGERS
AND
JOHN O'LEARY

On December 31, 1998, Wisconsin's Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC) will be history. Its replacement? No one knows for sure, but some outlines have become apparent.

The wholesale welfare replacement now being formulated in Wisconsin will try and come to terms with the crippling twin problems of our current welfare system: illegitimacy and non-work. Wisconsin's program will combine strategies aimed at reducing births out of wedlock with strategies that foster responsibility through tough work requirements. A family benefit cap will be put in place to discourage further births while a household is on welfare. And benefits probably won't be paid to teens under 18, with group homes perhaps employed as a substitute. Individuals who still qualify for welfare under the new rules will have to go to work to receive benefits.

All of this is the handiwork of Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson, who is determined to replace his state's dole with "a self-sufficiency system—one based on independence through work." The election of Thompson as governor in Wisconsin back in 1986 surprised nearly everyone in the state. Previously a state representative from the little town of Elroy (pop. 1,500), Thompson's gubernatorial bid was written off by the Wisconsin media. Neither a smooth speaker nor especially telegenic—he went through many razors in the campaign battling his five o'clock shadow—Thompson was considered too small-town and parochial. One Milwaukee reporter wrote of Thompson's "high-decibel, low-IQ rhetoric." Though not very eloquent, Thompson's common-sense message played well with Wisconsin's voters, and he pulled off a huge upset over sitting governor Tony Earl.

Thompson soon made reforming the welfare system his top priority. Says the governor: "The welfare system as it now exists is one of the root problems of the breakdown of the family which has caused the breakdown of community. Set up originally to be a temporary program, the only real radical change that has been made to it has been to make it permanent. A system that doesn't support the family or encourage work and doesn't require personal responsibility is bound to fail."

Thompson's first welfare reform was called Learnfare. Introduced in 1987, Learnfare required teenagers on AFDC to attend school regularly and complete high school or the equivalent. Failure to cooperate causes AFDC benefits to be reduced. Learnfare was opposed by everyone from the Milwaukee Roman Catholic archdiocese to the NAACP, who called the program punitive. Impressive results, however, soon quieted the critics. School attendance rose, and 8 percent of eligible teens lost benefits because they failed to regularly attend school in Learnfare's first year.

Thompson felt that Wisconsin's generous welfare programs were attracting individuals looking for a free ride. "Wisconsin was paying 40 percent more than what the same family would receive in Illinois," said Thompson. Taking office in 1986, Thompson reduced the level of AFDC payments by 6 percent, and then instituted a freeze. "It was sending a strong signal that we were not just going to keep throwing money at the problem," said the governor. By 1994, his seventh year in office, real, inflation-adjusted benefit levels had dropped by about 30 percent. Along with them, the Wisconsin welfare rolls had dropped by 21 percent, or about 20,000 households.

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Is welfare reform scaring people back into the work force?

Wisconsin says its welfare caseload fell to 74,000 last year from 98,000 in 1987, and only part of that is due to a strong economy. The state has a pilot project in two counties that limits cash benefits to 24 months. For next year, Governor Tommy Thompson proposes to eliminate the state's share of general assistance, paid mostly to single males.

Koss Corp., the speaker maker in Milwaukee that had trouble getting full-time production workers last year, says 28 of 30 temporary workers recently accepted full-time jobs that start just above the minumum wage but include benefits. "Uncle Sam has been a pretty tough competitor for a long time," says Michael Koss, president.

From the Wall Street Journal, *April 11, 1995.*

"The reality is that the governor's constant hammering away at welfare reform resonated successfully across every Wisconsin county," says Gerald Whitburn, Wisconsin's director of Health and Human Services. "In a way, what we have done is regenerate the stigma. We've said it's not okay to be on welfare."

Thompson's early welfare reforms, while groundbreaking at the time, are moderate compared to what he is embarking on now: blowing up the entire framework of welfare. The state Welfare Department is actually being eliminated, its functions transferred to the Economic Development Department. The message is clear: when someone comes seeking assistance, they better be looking for a job, not a handout.

Thompson's two-county pilot project "Work Not Welfare" kicked off in January 1995. It is the nation's first welfare reform requiring work and strictly limiting the length of time an individual can receive welfare benefits. After a two-year period, all AFDC cash benefits end. No exceptions.

Here's how "Work Not Welfare" operates: All AFDC recipients must sign a contract pledging to labor for their benefits. Within a month, they have to begin either a job or job training. After a year, recipients must be working in either a private firm for pay or a public job in exchange for benefits. By the end of the second year, cash benefits are cut off. Child care and health care continue for an additional year. "We are saying we've been nice to you so far, we've encouraged you up to this point, now it's time for you to break the welfare habit and get on with your life by working," says Thompson. "After you start working we'll continue to give food stamps and housing and transportation—for a while."

Since the program was formally announced in the summer of 1994 (and even before it was put into place) welfare caseloads dropped an impressive 17 percent in the two counties. What happened? Just like the woodpile where charity recipients used to be expected to work off some of their debt, today's "work test" weeds out those looking for easy cash. "We created the expectation that there would be no more free lunch," says Mark Liedl, a senior advisor to the governor.

One knotty question always comes up with regard to proposals to end welfare and replace it with work: What will be done about the people who don't have jobs after two years? Worried that there aren't enough private-sector jobs to go around for all current welfare recipients, many politicians and bureaucrats are looking for ways to insert exceptions into the two-years-and-out approach. Some argue the government must be specifically responsible for creating jobs for those on welfare.

Thompson thinks this is a big mistake. "I think it's tantamount to setting yourself up to fail if you say that you're just going to set up government jobs in the end," says Thompson, who is convinced most welfare recipients will move into the private sector when they have no other choice. Some critics contend that many welfare recipients are simply incapable of holding a real job. Thompson advisor Liedl contends that critics of Wisconsin's program suffer from "inside the box" thinking. They base their conclusions on the likely behavior of welfare recipients under the current welfare system, which will soon be gone in Wisconsin. When it's sink or swim, proponents maintain, a lot more people will turn out to be swimmers than we might imagine today. "What will happen when there is really no welfare as we know it?" asks Liedl. "We think people's behavior will change dramatically."

One bit of recent evidence supporting this comes from nearby Michigan. In 1991, Michigan governor John Engler discontinued general assistance (GA) welfare for able-bodied males, saving the state $250 million in benefits. This move spawned dramatic protests, including a "Tent City" at a park near the capitol in Lansing. When the shouting was over and the deed was done, however, the dire predictions failed to come true. And the move proved overwhelmingly popular with the voting public, with one poll showed 81 percent support. Engler doesn't regret cutting off GA, despite the protests and uproar it caused. "I think we did the right thing," he says—"and the evidence is quite compelling that we did." In 1991, 82 percent of Michigan's GA recipients had never held a job. By April 1993, 34 percent of terminated GA clients had found above-board employment.

Still, the question lingers: What happens to those who, for one reason or another, still are not working after two years? What happens to the ones who still don't swim? Governor Thompson takes off his glasses in response to our question, wipes his forehead and looks at us wearily. "If all else fails they're still going to get food stamps, housing, transportation, day care and so on," he points out. "All they're not going to get is cash. But believe me, there are jobs out there."

William D. Eggers and John O'Leary are both fellows of the Reason Foundation. This excerpt is drawn from their book Revolution at the Roots, *to be published in September by The Free Press.*

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Work not Welfare

In the Mormon Church

BY

RALPH HARDY

In 1996, the 9 million-member Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (popularly known as the Mormons) will commemorate the sixtieth year of its welfare program. It was in 1936, with the Great Depression sapping the strength and spirit of the nation, that our church's visionary president Heber Grant inaugurated the Church Welfare Program as "a system under which the curse of idleness would be done away with, the evils of a dole abolished, and independence, industry, thrift, and self-respect be once more established amongst our people. The aim of the church is to help the people to help themselves. Work is to be re-enthroned as the ruling principle of the lives of our church membership."

From this beginning, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints developed a detailed system for social assistance that favors work instead of welfare. It has proven extremely practical and effective in helping vulnerable people. This I know from my own personal experiences.

In the late 1940s, when I was about eight years of age, my father roused me out of bed one early Saturday morning and announced that we were going to the stake (roughly analogous to a diocese) welfare farm. This was an exciting prospect; I had never visited a farm and I eagerly anticipated seeing many creatures of my imagination. However, when my father and I arrived at the enterprise on the far west side of Salt Lake City, I was surprised not only by the lack of farm animals but by the large machete I was given. There ended the fun. For the remainder of that Saturday my father and I, along with several other men and their sons, harvested heavy, dirty sugar beets by hand, throwing them into the back of a three-quarter-ton truck. After hefting those beets I never felt the same about sugar again. I did, however, acquire a healthy respect for the life of a farm boy.

Later, a few years after my family had moved to Washington, D.C., the assignment came again to work on the stake welfare farm. This time, however, I held no illusions. I braced myself to work in the intense heat and 95 percent humidity that only the Washington area can promise in July. Throughout that day, which still ranks as one of the hardest episodes of labor I can remember, my father and I toiled in the fields digging fence-post holes.

It was with a little sadness that I later learned that this stake welfare farm had been sold, with a large dairy farm on Maryland's Eastern Shore acquired in its place. When I returned to Washington after graduate school, I spent many more Saturdays cleaning barns and pouring cement at the dairy farm.

When I turned 12, I became a deacon in the church like other boys of my age. One of my first assignments was to visit about eight families in our local congregation on the first Sunday of every month. My purpose in going was to collect from these families a "fast offering"—a cash contribution from each household equal to the value of two meals skipped by that family on the first Sunday of the month, known as Fast Sunday. I traveled by bicycle, and at the end of the afternoon I would bring all the offerings back to the bishop at the meetinghouse. These contributions created a pool of funds for our bishop to use in providing assistance to needy families in our ward. Although I did not know who these families were, I knew that our wise bishop would put the funds to good use.

When I was 34, the leadership of the church asked me to serve as bishop of my ward. One of the key assignments I was given, like all other bishops in the Church of Jesus

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Christ of Latter-Day Saints, was to assume direct responsibility for the physical welfare of the nearly 600 members of my congregation. I quickly learned that the physical welfare of my charges was an important influence on their spiritual welfare.

The good people of my ward were from all walks of life. Some were reasonably affluent, many were not. More than a few, especially young families, struggled. One adult member of my ward was retarded and living alone. Another was severely overweight, without family or transportation, and virtually unemployable. Over the five years of my service I spent an enormous amount of time administering to the many needs of these people.

One day, after I had been bishop for only about four months, one of the very faithful men in my ward came to see me. He had been assigned as the "home teacher" to several families, and, as such, he visited these families faithfully each month on my behalf. This man said to me, "Bishop Hardy, I am concerned about one of my families. The husband is out of a job, and his spirit and self-confidence are broken." I knew the man's name at once, and was distressed that I had not been perceptive enough to detect that the family was in difficulty.

I immediately visited the man and his wife and confirmed that they were without the basic necessities of life. Their pantry was bare. All of their meager income went toward paying rent, now in arrears, and for gasoline so the man could search for work. And that search was not proving successful. That evening, I immediately called the very capable president of our ward's women's auxiliary, known in our church as the Relief Society, and asked her to also visit the home so that this family's immediate needs could be confidentially assessed. By noon the next day this was done. Counselling was begun, and a list of commodities and other necessities that this struggling family would need was compiled. By five o'clock in the evening, the Relief Society president and the wife in the family had driven to our regional bishops' storehouse facility and filled a large order of foodstuffs and other commodities to sustain that family of five for a period of time.

A few days later, by prearrangement with the husband, I contacted the man's older brother living in the Southwest and inquired about the extended family's ability to be of assistance to their kin. To my joy I received a commitment from them to donate not only cash assistance to their brother but also a good used automobile to replace the family's old car, which was not worth fixing. Then I asked a capable young attorney in my ward to help me prevent the family from being evicted from their rented townhouse; he was able to work out a rent moratorium with the landlord. From the Fast Offering funds donated by members of my congregation I advanced a deposit of one month's rent so that the landlord would feel a sense of commitment. Also from Fast Offering funds I made several direct payments to the electric utility and to several physicians, in order to free up the family's meager cash resources for other purposes.

As is the practice in our church, I asked the man and his wife if they would perform some church service to partially recompense for the assistance that they received. I asked the man if he would undertake a project to repaint one of the long hallway walls in our ward meetinghouse. This assignment was accepted and the work was performed over the course of several Saturdays.

A member of our ward who had been assigned to serve as an employment specialist then began turning over to this man every possible job lead. Before we could succeed at this, however, the man's own extended family found him employment in the Southwest. I still hear from him every Christmas and can report that he has been gainfully employed ever since his crisis, and is a productive member of our church and society.

At every turn the LDS church teaches the dignity of work and the importance of personal industry. Work is emphasized as a ruling principle in the lives of all of our believers. I learned this lesson as part of a religious congregation, through personal labor in the church welfare system, and through my participation in our system of financial and service offerings. Work is basic in the doctrine of our church, and the virtues of work—and the cursedness of idleness—are taught to Latter-Day Saints at a young age.

More generally, the members of our church are taught to be self-reliant. Coming in part from our pioneer traditions, the importance of self-reliance and personal independence receives great emphasis. Spencer W. Kimball, a recent church president, taught that:

> The responsibility for each person's social, emotional, spiritual, physical, or economic well-being rests first upon himself, second upon his family, and third upon the church if he is a faithful member thereof. No true Latter-Day Saint, while physically or emotionally able, will voluntarily shift the burden of his own or his family's well-being to someone else.

Our emphases on work and self-reliance lead directly to a third requirement in church teaching—that of provident living. This means we must train members, from youth, to live within their means; to avoid unnecessary debt; to adopt on a family basis the principle of the "storehouse," which encourages laying up a year's stock of food, commodities, and financial resources against a time when they may be needed.

These work- and independence-based principles inoculate most church members from serious problems of economic security. And where personal welfare problems do crop up, our vast system of temporary church assistance and guidance back toward work is able to ease most situations without any involvement by the government. This is not mere rhetoric. Last year within the United States alone, 35,207 of our unemployed members were placed in gainful employment through the church's employment centers. In addition, over 1,500 so-called "unemployable" persons were placed in jobs, with more than 85 percent still working at the same business over one year later.

I have seen the LDS church welfare assistance system in action. I learned its principles as a child; I taught them as a full-time missionary for the church as a young man overseas; I have administered the system at the grassroots level as a church bishop. This system works because it is focused on the self-worth of the individual, and because it is administered as a part of religious practice at the local level.

Ours is a program built on work, self-help, personal dignity, and redemption. I have seen it succeed. And I know that many of its principles could be applied to the world at large.

Ralph Hardy is president of the Washington, D.C. stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. An earlier version of this article was delivered as a speech to the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty.

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WORK AND THE AFRICAN AMERICAN

THE SIREN SONG OF GOVERNMENT JOBS

by Dinesh D'Souza

Two deeply ingrained attributes have seriously damped African Americans' economic development. One is an unfortunate dependence on government as an economic agent. The other is a remarkable weakness in establishing independent businesses—the single most important income elevator for many ethnic groups.

Today, about 24 percent of all blacks (compared with 14 percent of whites) are employed by federal, state, or local governments. Among educated blacks the proportion is even higher. According to sociologist Bart Landry, about half of black professional males and two-thirds of black professional females work for some arm of the state. Moreover, partly as a consequence of widespread racial preferences, employment in the public sector has been rising at a faster rate for blacks than for any other group.

According to a recent survey, two-thirds of black Americans believe the government, rather than private business or individuals, has the greatest responsibility for creating jobs. Two-thirds likewise insist that increases in government spending are the best way to invigorate the economy and provide employment. Whites, on the other hand, are far likelier to look to places other than government for jobs.

Meanwhile, blacks have done very poorly in small business, a vital source of American jobs and upward mobility. According to 1987 government data, blacks—who make up 12 percent of the population—owned about 420,000 businesses in America with total receipts of $19 billion. By contrast, Asians (only 3 percent of the population) owned 350,000 businesses whose receipts totaled $33 billion. African Americans currently start and run less than 3 percent of the nation's businesses and take in less than 1 percent of the nation's gross receipts. Black enterprise is so fragile that a large proportion of its receipts come from the government; many black businesses would collapse without government contracting preferences and set-asides. A substantial majority of black enterprises are tiny, with receipts of less than $5,000 a year.

Many attempts have been made to explain the scarcity of blacks in small business. "Capitalism and its institutions are basically individualistic," writes James Hund in *Black Entrepreneurship*, "but the ethos of the black community is collectivistic." Thomas Kochman suggests that while whites view economic advantages as something to be earned by individuals—"I worked for what I have"—blacks tend to view them as the fruit of political activism—"We fought for this."

Government was originally recruited as an ally and guarantor of black status out of necessity. Federal intervention in the 1860s freed the slaves, and black leaders were later compelled to turn to the federal government to combat state-sanctioned segregation and private discrimination. Faith in political struggle and state provision continues to dominate black thinking.

"When I graduated from college," Nikki Giovanni writes in *Racism 101*, "the only true credential I had for a job was that I was pretty good at picketing." Giovanni has made a career for herself writing poems about bigotry, but most blacks who follow such a career path find themselves at a dead end. The only detour is into the racism industry, where protest becomes a way of life and indignation becomes a job qualification. Meanwhile, other ethnic groups are selling cars and computer software and moving to the suburbs—which causes black resentment and confusion, as indicated by the widespread suspicion in inner-city neighborhoods that the U.S. government is secretly providing capital to Koreans to fuel their many visible successes.

Economist John Kasarda points out that Asians establish small businesses in order to overcome the obstacles they face as newcomers to this country: problems of language and access to credit. Other scholars such as Ivan Light and Timothy Bates have described how immigrant groups establish rotating credit associations for the purpose of pooling capital and investing it in new enterprises. By succeeding through the private sector such groups haven't needed many civil rights leaders. They are led by entrepreneurs instead.

Despite the opportunities open to them in the world of business, and the limitations of government in solving socioeconomic problems, many black intellectuals continue to stress political agitation as a means of securing larger transfers of wealth from the public treasury to African Americans. Government, of course, has a legitimate role in providing needed services and a safety net. But the degree of black reliance on government today is dysfunctional. It prevents many African Americans from being "spurred by necessity," as John Kasarda puts it, into the risks and rewards of entrepreneurship.

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Like the Big House in times of slavery, government can provide security. But protection from cradle to grave comes at the cost of self-reliance and private initiative. And in the long run, these offer far richer rewards—not only in financial terms but also, more importantly, in an abiding sense of personal freedom.

Dinesh D'Souza is the John M. Olin research fellow at AEI. This is adapted from his book The End of Racism, *just published by the Free Press.*

by Tony Brown

The American black community's socio-economic failure is not an accident. We have never organized to become economically self-sufficient. Worse, a cruel plan of socialism has been imposed on us by black and white liberals. Blacks have been re-enslaved as the worst victims of the "economics of scarcity" by patronizing whites and an unaccountable black leadership that has historically preferred to put its hand out for entitlements rather than apply its shoulder to the wheel of self-reliance.

Other ethnic and racial groups continually overcome discriminatory barriers by using free-market tactics. But blacks have stood passively on the sidelines of business enterprise. Author Joel Kotkin was being kind when he referred to native-born black Americans as "reluctant entrepreneurs." But when Kotkin examined the median income of U.S. black families of Caribbean ancestry, he found that it actually exceeded the level of whites. And the source of these West Indian blacks' success was their strong interest in running small businesses. "The West Indian experience is the best indication that it is historic and cultural factors, not skin color, that best explain the disinclination toward business among so much of black America."

This "disinclination" arises from a socialist impulse deeply embedded in the psyche of our black leadership, perpetuating a slave economics wrongly confused with our proud African cultural heritage. While most black Americans ask "Where's mine?", blacks of West Indian descent have gone out and created theirs by embracing cooperative traditions that allowed them to build small businesses, just as Chinese, Japanese, West African, and Korean immigrants have done. In the process, they've given the lie to the 200-year-old excuse that native-born blacks don't own businesses because racially prejudiced lenders won't provide them with financing.

Discrimination-in-lending has lost its force of logic as an explanation for the retardation of black business, as leading scholar Ivan Light explains in his book *Ethnic Enterprise in America*. Studies of small businessmen, he notes, show that institutional loans, contrary to expectation, have been relatively inconsequential as a financial resource. Only a small percentage of entrepreneurs seek or obtain bank loans in order to open their small businesses. A far greater percentage rely entirely on personal resources, mostly their own savings and loans from family and friends. "Since bank credit has been so insignificant a resource for new proprietors in general, even complete denial of bank credit could hardly account for the Negro's singular difficulties in small business," Light argues.

In my speaking and writing, I have called for black entrepreneurs to finance their ventures by saving and borrowing against their own equity. Toward this end, blacks can call on their own cultural traditions. In West Africa, for instance, there is the Yoruban institution called the *esusu*, where a group of friends or relatives pool their savings as seed money for the founding of small businesses. The Japanese, Koreans, and other ethnic and racial groups have similarly leveraged their capital and built many successful enterprises.

When West Indians began migrating to the United States around 1900, they brought the *esusu* tradition with them. Unfortunately, native-born black Americans quickly began to resent them their successes. Today there are still strains due to the thrift and competitiveness of West Indian blacks.

Not surprisingly, one of today's leading proponents of black entrepreneurial activity, *Black Enterprise* magazine, is the creation of Earl Graves, whose parents came to America from Barbados. West Indians also filled the ranks of Marcus Garvey's economic self-help movement, the largest in black history. They were aggressive in starting retail businesses—grocery stores, tailor shops, jewelry stores, fruit markets, real estate firms—in direct competition with whites.

For generations, blacks have watched in anger and humiliation as wave after wave of new immigrants surpass them economically. In Harlem, many blacks now call for running Koreans out; in Miami, some blame the Cubans and Haitians for accepting minimum-wage jobs; in Houston, blacks express sometimes hostile wonderment at the efficiency of mom-and-pop stores run by Indochinese refugees in black neighborhoods.

The problem is with us, not them. Blaming others for exploiting the free marketplace puts no meat or potatoes on your table. Cultural unity and economic development alone will free blacks. In a theme now adopted by Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Martin Luther King, Jr., told his fellow blacks that "New laws are not enough. The emergency we now face is economic." Racism, discrimination, and a debilitating welfare system have caused blacks to lose faith in themselves. Blacks will improve their communities only when they regain that faith. God and economics—faith and money—are an unbeatable combination.

Blacks should enter the legitimate entrepreneurial economy at whatever level they can. "Circle of friends" marketing programs such as Mary Kay Cosmetics and Amway are entry-level endeavors that require minimal initial investments. These businesses can help individuals develop valuable marketing and business skills, as well as extra income of a few hundred dollars a month that can make a big difference both symbolically and practically.

But a shift toward enterprise will occur in the black community only if its leaders adopt such a strategy and make it their own. They must not just talk, but also act, founding their own businesses and helping others to do likewise. No other group in this country has the expertise and the cultural affinity to lead the black community into a new place in history. It is time for the Talented Tenth to recognize economic reality and accept their responsibility to live it.

Tony Brown is host of the PBS television show Tony Brown's Journal. *This article is derived from his book* Black Lies, White Lies, *forthcoming in October.*

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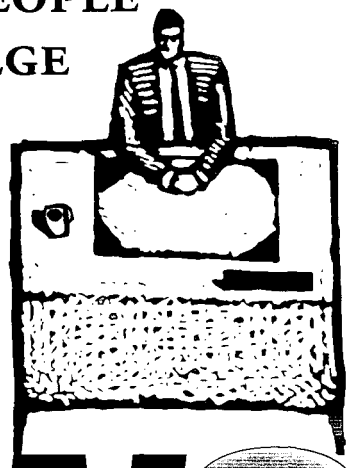
Too Many People Go To College

by Leon Podles



Every American dreams that he or his children will enter the secure ranks of the middle class by becoming a college graduate. This desire is fueled by surveys suggesting that college graduates can earn half-again as much as non-college graduates. Consequently, every September millions of 18-year-olds settle themselves into stuffy lecture halls and rowdy fraternity houses and, at an average cost of between $50,000 and $200,000 (paid jointly by parents, taxpayers, gullible donors, and students themselves), take a four-year vacation from real life.

Obviously some serious education goes on at colleges, especially in the hard sciences. Physics, mathematics, computer engineering, and so forth are still rigorous disciplines, and those who study them come out with valuable knowledge. But how many more B.A.'s does our society need in anthropology, Black studies, or English?

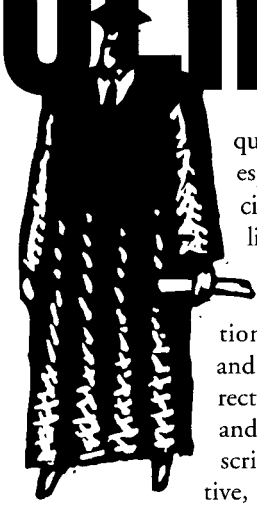
There are millions of young Americans sitting through sociology and film classes today when they really ought to be out working or learning a practical skill instead. The City College of New York student who wrote these actual sentences—"The graduation had almost abut everything but it had to go on a secudual. It had marching down the isliles singing the school almata, which I had never heard before, and the color guards."—could have done lots of productive, socially useful things with his life. But going to college was surely not one of them.

American education has been dumbed down over the past century to the point where reading, analytical, and writing skills once expected of high-school graduates are now being taught in colleges. We have simply stretched a four-year course of studies over eight or more years. Who profits from this? Not the bright students, who suffer from boredom in high school. Not the taxpayers, whose load is more than doubled. There's nothing in it for business, because keeping teenagers out of the labor force restricts available workers and drives up labor-costs. Only teachers benefit.

Why has business gone along with this trend, both by financing college expansion with donations and by requiring job applicants to have a college degree? Sometimes, businesspeople are lured by the prestige of a college education. More often, personnel offices simply use degrees as a screen to limit the number of job applicants that have to be processed. One of the few beneficial effects of affirmative action has been to eat away at the requirement for a college degree when it has no real relationship to the job.

Despite today's worship of the college credential, most real wealth in our society is still gained not through education and the professions but through entrepreneurial activity. Higher education as it now exists in America simply doesn't develop the qualities of initiative and aggressiveness necessary to succeed in business. Often it undermines them.

WORK SCHOOLING



American education can be particularly inhospitable to males. Patricia Sexton in *The Feminized Male* shows how energetic and assertive boys are punished because they cannot function in classrooms taught by women who assume that the quiet, nonphysical behavior of a girl is the only type proper to school. Active boys, consequently, often do poorly in school. This is an especially massive problem in America's inner cities, where the boys grow up with fewer civilizational restraints on their innate male natures.

Few of these overactive boys will ever become great successes in a world of conventional academic schooling. They could excel and become productive citizens, however, if directed instead toward work, practical vocations, and business. Consider that when a teacher describes a student as aggressive or physically active, she is saying he is a problem. But if a businessman or trades employer describes a worker as aggressive, he is paying a compliment.

The most aggressive boys have always gone into business. Today, the poor ones often end up dealing drugs. Boys who go the legitimate route, however, can end up being very productive indeed. The U.S. Trust company recently surveyed a sample of America's biggest earners and found that less than half of them had completed college, while 29 percent never went at all. In-

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stead of learning to conform to academic expectations, they were out adding value, making products, and earning money—in ways that are not taught in schools today.

Leon Podles, who has a PhD. in English from the University of Virginia, works in national security.

SCHOOLING

Send Inner-City Kids to Business School Instead

by Steve Mariotti

I'VE TAUGHT POOR KIDS ACADEMIC LESSONS IN SCHOOL. AND I'VE TAUGHT POOR KIDS ABOUT HOW TO START A BUSINESS. THE BUSINESS LESSONS WERE FAR MORE EFFECTIVE.

I've taught poor kids academic lessons in school. And I've taught poor kids about how to start a business. The business lessons were far more effective, better received, more important. For many kids today, practical economic training is the only kind of education with a chance of leading to self-improvement. Training for business and work is the inner city's real hope.

In Brooklyn's tough Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood—the world of Spike Lee movies—I taught special ed to public high school students ripe for dropping out. In my first year I kicked out all the males who acted up, which was nearly all the males in the class. At the end of the year I was given the best-teacher award, but I couldn't shake the feeling that I'd sent those boys off to streets that would kill them.

So I took a bunch of my discarded students to dinner and asked why they'd acted so badly in class. They told me that my class was worthless, that I had nothing to say to them. "Didn't anything I said in class interest you?" I pleaded. One fellow spoke up and said that only one thing had caught his attention: when I discussed my import/export business. Then he rattled off various figures I'd told the class, calculated my profit margins, and concluded my business was doing well. I was dazzled to find such business smarts in a student the public schools had labeled borderline retarded.

I realized my kids didn't need special education, but only standard business education. That was when I dropped out of the public schools. Now I run a private foundation that tries to save the poor through the gospel of business. As president of the National Foundation for Teaching Entrepreneurship to Handicapped and Disadvantaged Youth, a nonprofit organization I founded in 1987, I help teach inner-city children how they can start their own legitimate small businesses.

Our programs provide students with all the hands-on skills and business knowledge they need to found and maintain an enterprise—including time management, debt-versus-equity financing, negotiation strategies, leases, the time-value of money, goal setting, the invention process, business ethics, keeping good records, how to read the *Wall Street Journal*, how to make a sales call, balance sheets and income statements, memo writing, and other business communication. Perhaps most important, we teach them how to write a concise, realistic business plan. Much of what these kids learn is usually taught in MBA programs, yet we have found that most have no trouble understanding and applying the concepts.

Since 1988, we have graduated about 7,000 young people from our programs in cities around the United States, and we expect to graduate another 3,000 this year alone. We have divisions in New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, California, and Washington, D.C., comprising 14 cities. Frank Arnala graduated from a program in our New York Metro division in 1991 and now employs five other people at the Lower East Side store he runs in a previously abandoned building. Then there's JaBari Bishop of Washington, D.C., a 14-year-old graduate who runs his own business selling hats, ties, and T-shirts. He does so well with his 100 percent mark-ups that he's teaching his sister and mother how to be entrepreneurs too.

We teach our students that to create wealth they must find something other human beings need or want and engage in voluntary transactions with them. Creating value through free trade is the essence of business, and I have seen it transform the lives of at-risk young people on countless occasions. Here are four specific ways our programs change students' lives:

- **Improved initiative.** When we draw on the students' innate inclinations toward entrepreneurship, they build on their natural risk-taking ability and mental toughness, and they develop initiative.
- **Improved attitudes.** Our students show marked improvement in their general attitude and their courteousness toward others. Kids who live under great stress and in poverty can be very rude, but when a student is treated well and, especially, treated as a professional businessperson, he or she begins to act the part.
- **Improved academic skills.** Many inner-city students who never learned the most basic math show quick improvement when they have an incentive to do so. Our average student shortly rises to a seventh-grade level of basic math, and his writing skills also improve when he must compose a concise, realistic business plan. Don't take the standardized test scores of these kids at face value. When it becomes a necessary part of operating one's own business, learning takes on practical rather than abstract value. Also, the forward-looking view of life that business cultivates can do wonders to raise academic skills and calm personal disorder.
- **Reduced pregnancy rates.** In public school, I once taught typing and entrepreneurship in the same semester, and I discovered that the ratio of pregnant girls in typing class versus entrepreneurship class was three to one! There are always as many girls as boys interested in entrepreneurship, and young women who are thinking about creating a business are much less likely to create a baby before their time. Entrepreneurship gives them a long-term goal

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and a sense of self-respect; they take control of their bodies as they take control of their lives.

Faced with the deceptively easy answer of welfare on the one hand and tax and regulatory barriers to business on the other, many inner-city citizens who could be hardworking and honest fall into a life of either dependence or crime. If no viable alternative is offered, many of the millions of children now growing up in poor households will be condemned to economic serfdom as wards of the state, either in jail or on welfare.

How much better it would be to teach wealth-creation techniques to those who have traditionally been absent from the marketplace. In classic free-market fashion, this would allow individuals to seek self-improvement while bringing an overflow of benefits to the broader community. Hence our motto: Turning around America's inner-cities, one young entrepreneur at a time.

Steve Mariotti is president of the National Foundation for Teaching Entrepreneurship (212) 233-1777. An earlier version of this article was delivered as a speech to the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty.

THE LESSONS WORK TAUGHT ME CAME ALIVE IN MY HEART AND HANDS, AFFECTING MY THOUGHT PROCESS LIKE NO AMOUNT OF TEXTBOOK STUDY COULD.

A Defense of Child Labor

by Hannah Lapp

As a child growing up on a family-run dairy farm, I learned what the "hard" means in hard work before I turned 10. But my early experiences on the job also taught me the joy of achievement, and a rich array of lessons and skills that would prove invaluable to me in later life. That's why the term "child labor" doesn't automatically repulse me, except for the way modern usage has distorted it into a tool to deprive other youngsters of the treasures I myself found in hard work.

Work was part of my life for as long as I can remember. Before school age, it was lighter tasks, such as helping with dishes so my older siblings could get to classes on time. At times I worked because Mom instructed me to do a particular job. More often, I followed my parents or older siblings around to help out with whatever they were doing, simply because it provided me with opportunity and discovery—two things children crave.

My parents expected us to pitch in with work not only because they considered it good for us, but because they needed us. They could not have provided for their 12 children on only our father's farm laborer income, and under no circumstances did they intend to accept government aid. Since the family's survival depended on our own efforts, we children grew up seeing ourselves as part of the big scheme of things.

My older brothers and sisters worked for many years in situations less ideal than the family farm setting I enjoyed in my childhood. Their long days of hoeing or picking tomatoes under a blazing Arkansas sun during our family's migrant labor days were often difficult. So were the times when a parent or some of the children had to board away from home to follow a particular fruit-picking season.

In 1967, one of those stormy years of scraping together toward a farm of our own, six of my older siblings managed a tomato harvest by themselves. Mom was tied down at home with the baby and Dad held a farm job, so my 15-year-old sister took charge of the young work force. For several weeks they boarded in a shanty on their employer's land, some 80 miles from home. Each one down to the youngest crew member, who was six, would toil from dawn to sunset in a back-breaking endeavor to fill as many baskets of tomatoes as he could.

Today my older siblings speak of those times with fondness rather than regret. It's partly because those very exertions were the ones that enabled us to reach the family dream of establishing our own farm. But it's more than that. It's because of the enormous sense of self-worth they discovered in meeting those challenges.

Perhaps people who can't comprehend the merits of hard work for children could begin to understand by correlating it to sports activities. Our society is quite accepting of the idea that youngsters should test their endurance, face rigorous competition, and even risk physical injury in the sports arena. No one thinks it odd that children should enjoy and benefit from these stressful activities.

Looking back, I can compare some of my youthful lust for work with other youngsters' enthusiasm for sports. The thrill of competing with peers and the glory of adult approval were big factors, just as they are in school ball games. But my own experiences have given me a bias in favor of work, where the glory is much less temporary.

The lessons work taught me came alive in my heart and hands, affecting my thought process like no amount of textbook study could. Be gentle with the heifer, or she'll be impossible to handle. Be responsible with that gate, or you'll be rudely awakened with cows out at night. Follow instructions and work hard when you're with the haying crew—otherwise you won't be included the next time. Get that row of cabbage weeded right, or you'll be doing it over again instead of having your break.

I feel sorry for youngsters nowadays who are being told by the adult world that they're not supposed to do real work—the straining, grinding kind that tests your strength and helps pay the bills. I'd like them to have a chance to discover the rewards of labor while they're young, adventuresome, and impressionable. My own workplace experience came early and was heavy, and I, for one, am grateful.

Hannah Lapp is a writer and farmer living in western New York.

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SCHOOLING

The Graves of Academe

by Florence King

I won a scholarship to American University in Washington, D.C., and graduated with honors in 1957 with a double major in history and English. Since I was then qualified to do nothing except go to graduate school, I applied for and won a fellowship in history at the University of Mississippi.

I completed the course work for the M.A. but did not finish my thesis because I found something better to do. I spent the entire spring semester writing stories for the true confessions magazines. After turning out footnoted reams on such pressing topics as the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein and the reign of Pippin the Short, I got five cents a word for "I Committed Adultery in a Diabetic Coma" and it felt great. I had thrown off the vague guilt of the welfare scholar and become a productive member of society at last.

IF I COULD BE TRANSPORTED BACK IN TIME TO MY HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION, I WOULD NOT GO TO COLLEGE. I WOULD TURN DOWN THE SCHOLARSHIP, GET A PROOFREADING JOB WITH A PRINTER, AND WRITE ON EVENINGS AND WEEKENDS.

I have been getting paid for writing ever since, and this commentary is the only piece of writing I've ever done that required a college education. If I could be transported back in time to my high school graduation, I would not go to college. I would turn down the scholarship, get a proofreading job with a printer, and write on evenings and weekends. As for "cultural literacy," I would aquire it the only way it can be acquired—by reading. Reading: what undergraduates pay colleges to let them do, what colleges pay fellowship students to be sure to do, what I did compulsively anyway.

As the only class distinction available in a democracy, the college degree is now coveted by people who call it a "ticket." Lots of these people hate books, and look at college more as a place to make connections and become "well-rounded." Quaking in fear that our children won't become members of the elite, we send them to college not so much to learn as to "be" college graduates, rationalizing our snobbery with the cliché that high technology has eliminated the need for the manual labor that we secretly hold in contempt.

Only an American labor leader would say, as Samuel Gompers did, that "the promise of America for the laboring man is the promise of someday no longer having to work with his hands." We are paying through the nose for such attitudes. If you can't get your car fixed properly it may well be because your mechanic is crippled by "lack of self-esteem" because he didn't go to college, or because his mind is on his night-school course at the community college, or because he's so exhausted from trying to pay his children's tuition that he can't tell a carburetor from a fan belt. Or perhaps because he has been made to feel like a "downstart" (George Bernard Shaw's term) and wants to get even with people who snub him by screwing up their cars.

Our attitude toward non-college people bespeaks a criminal disregard for their feelings and their worth. By our insane efforts to transform the entire U.S. population into a college-educated middle class, we are tempting the fate described by Oliver Goldsmith's famous lines: "A bold peasantry, their country's pride/ when once destroyed, can never be supplied."

If we keep shoving everybody into higher education we will end up a nation without true culture or purpose, a bunch of white collar nervous Nellies living in dread of working at McDonald's, puttering away at our office machines while the "underclass" that didn't even finish high school seethes at our backs.

I was raised by two *junior* high school dropouts and two elementary school dropouts, but all four of them were well-self-educated people. My British father "left school" at 15 according to the custom of his time and class, yet he could recite the major speeches of Shakespeare and the monarchs of England, with dates, from the time of Alfred the Great onward.

My baseball-crazed mother quit school at 14 and never read a book (including mine) in her life, but she could compute batting averages in a trice, and when we went grocery shopping she added up the prices in her head and arrived at the same total, at the same time, as the cash register.

My grandmother had six years of school in rural Virginia, but she learned enough to be able to turn herself into a self-taught archivist, able to find the public documents she needed to trace our family back to 1672. Jensy, our black cleaning woman, went to school for only a couple of years, yet she read the Bible straight through every year and once pointed out an incorrect statement about the Kingdom of Babylon in my ancient history textbook.

How many of today's college graduates are capable of doing *any* of these things?

Florence King's latest book is The Florence King Reader. *This is adapted from her book* Lump It or Leave It.

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Lost in Work

by Barbara Dafoe Whitehead

It's little wonder that *E.R.* has become America's favorite television show. An emergency room is the perfect metaphor for today's culture of work: a 24 hour work day; a workplace loaded with dazzling technology; a buzz induced by adrenaline and fueled by caffeine; and an overwhelming sense of urgency and importance. For the medical team in the E.R., no other domain offers comparable attractions.

For a growing number of Americans, work is gobbling up not only our time but also our loyalties. Especially for the most well-educated and successfully employed Americans, work identities are overtaking other identities. Work itself is crowding out other life pursuits. Partly because of the personal and portable technologies, partly because of our acquiescence to its claims, work has become an imperial presence—setting up outposts everywhere.

Take family life: The technology that makes it possible for parents to work at home also turns home into a 24-hour workplace. Just when it's time to put the kids to bed, the fax spurts an urgent communication, the pager beeps, the e-mail dings. Along with home as workplace, we are getting workplace as home. Businesses now offer emergency childcare so their employees can work overtime or on weekends; others provide temporary childcare for children who are sick or on school vacations. I know a mother whose boss so valued her services that when she threatened to quit to spend more time with her children, he offered to provide a chauffeured limousine to take her kids to Little League and music lessons. Most employees, as well as advocates for family-friendly workplaces, find these efforts praiseworthy, and they do accomplish the goal of making parents more reliable employees. But we should not be fooled about what is going on here. The workplace is bidding for and acquiring time once pledged to children, and children have no way to make a reasonable counteroffer.

Take neighborhood and community life: Membership in community organizations is declining. Some people attribute this trend to increases in women's workforce participation and this is a factor. However, there has also been a 25 percent drop in men's participation in community groups over roughly the past decade. One reason to suspect that work plays a role in the disengagement from civic life is that membership in professional associations has not suffered a similar decline but in fact has been rising. (I suspect the same might be said for memberships in private health clubs.)

Take vacations: The "getting-away-from-it-all" vacation is disappearing as more Americans tote lap-tops, cellular phones, and portable faxes to the cottage and the beach. Not only is this practice spreading from senior executives to mid- and lower-level managers, but it is establishing a new work norm: never leave the office.

Take Sundays: Sunday has become another work day. Once dedicated to church-going and late sleeping, Sunday mornings are increasingly devoted to work or work disguised as leisure. According to a recent biography, Senator Robert Dole watches political talk shows on Sunday morning while he rides an exercycle. He goes to church only when his wife drags him there. In Massachusetts, businesses are challenging the blue laws on the grounds that opening stores on Sunday mornings is friendly to families, providing jobs and expanded hours for grocery shopping. Similarly, work is taking over Sunday evenings. According to one unscientific study, home technologies begin to hum on Sundays around four P.M. People start calling on Sunday night to set up the next day's meetings, assignments, appointments.

Take marriage: According to divorce researcher Judith Wallerstein, the institution of marriage and the institution of work may be on a collision course. In particular, the marriages of two-career couples who have children are "frighteningly fragile." The demands and pressures of building a career, often coinciding with the peak childrearing years, can introduce tension and conflict between spouses, particularly when the strain of holding it all together seems to fall on one parent more than the other.

Take last but certainly not least, love and sex: Our intimate lives are increasingly described not in the language of love and romance, but in the language of work. We are encouraged to "work" on our relationships, to develop new "skills" in our love lives, to use computerized technologies to locate potential partners, even to engage in sex as a form of aerobic exercise. (Moderate inten-

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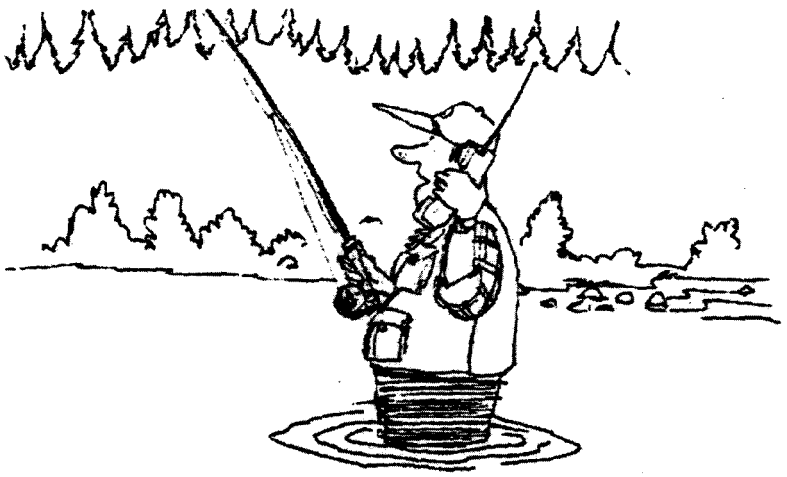
sity sex, says one woman's magazine, can burn off 40 calories an hour.) Too, there is the exhaustion factor. One working mother confesses: I don't crave sex. I crave sleep.

If pursuit of our work lives has crowded out pursuit of our lives as husbands and wives, mothers and fathers, neighbors, friends, and citizens, does it matter? It may matter a lot. To begin, it makes for a more atomized and disconnected society, where workers jostle and contend in the marketplace, leaving empty chairs at the PTA meetings and volunteer fire departments and church suppers. The result is a weakened and impoverished civil society, a reduced sense of social trust and responsibility, and a decline in the nation's social capital.

The incursions of work into family and community life may prove especially detrimental to children. Children are the last American provincials, bound to a particular family and local geography, dependent on the richness and resources of a social world created by adults. That social world is growing more meager and fragile as the work world claims the loyalties and investments of the grownups.

From time to time, I read an obituary that describes the recently deceased not as an executive for a pharmaceutical firm or a successful lobbyist, but as a church member or a Red Cross volunteer. Yet it is increasingly difficult to imagine a successful life in these terms—because we cannot imagine ourselves defined by anything but our work.

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead has written for The Atlantic Monthly *and other magazines, and is currently completing a book on marriage while in residence at the Woodrow Wilson Center of the Smithsonian Institution.*



"I've got to go. I think I've got a bite."

From *The Wall Street Journal*–permission, Cartoon Features Syndicate

Laboring at Love

by Nancy R. Pearcey

It's the latest aid for mothers torn between work and family: a small, spiral-bound personal planner, designed to fit in a purse, and labeled the Mother's Organizational Manager (MOM). The planner was designed by Michelle Trachtman, who sells it at time-management seminars geared to teach mothers the techniques of "managing personal time, developing organizational skills, and creating a life balance" between job and family.

Ah, the time-management professionals and their boundless optimism. Like so many other experts, they send parents an implicit message that if you just try harder and follow a few simple organizational principles, you'll breeze through your family commitments like crisp business meetings.

This idea that tensions between work and the rest of life are just engineering problems to be resolved by skillful use of technique is a peculiarly modern one. And it lacks any recognition that there are times when conflicts can't be eliminated without giving up something significant in one sphere or the other. As Faith Wohl, director of the federal Office of Workplace Initiatives, notes, "there's an implicit arrogance about the idea that you can manage your way through some of the crises that people encounter—crises that affect their soul, their spirit, their being."

Any parent who has faced an intractable opposition between work and family responsibilities knows that Wohl is right: these are spiritual matters that involve our most fundamental beliefs, goals, motives, values. So why don't we just say so? Why is it that when we describe our most intimate and consequential decisions, acts that have permanent effects on ourselves and those we love, we typically use words borrowed from the vocabulary of industry? We speak of "investing" in children; we "schedule" our family time; we "set agendas" and aim for "efficiency." Raising children is cast more as a science and sideline than a moral undertaking.

But love relationships—especially those involving children—are inevitably messy and inefficient, and they cannot be forced into the model of corporate careerism. We all know in our hearts that children are more than objects to be "managed," that caring for them is quali-

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tatively different from meeting a business deadline. But we seem to lack a distinctive vocabulary for these affairs of the heart.

Columnist Ellen Goodman, in a speech delivered a few years ago, remarked that when she first started writing about work and family, she thought the crux of the issue was a conflict of schedules: schedules at work, at the child care center, at school, at home. It seemed that if only we could apportion our time more adeptly we could squeeze in everything and "have it all." Later, Goodman realized the conflict ran deeper. She redefined it as a clash of roles: the conflicting demands of being a good mother, a loving spouse, a skillful worker, and so on. Finally, it dawned on her that the source of our angst is nothing less than a conflict of values: the humane values of home life have collided with the acquisitive values of getting and doing.

The roots of this trend extend back to the industrial revolution, which transferred work from the home to the factory and office, creating a physical distance between the two central tasks of adult life: making a living and making a home where love is transmitted. For the first time in history these two fundamental human activities were torn apart and encased in separate spheres. Since then, the public (working) sphere has steadily sought to dominate the private (loving) one, even taking over the language we use in speaking about our personal lives.

The result, writes Rodney Clapp in *Families at the Crossroads*, is that we increasingly view families like machines, and the people within them like interchangeable parts, with

From *The Wall Street Journal*–permission, Cartoon Features Syndicate

"It was a purely professional decision, Harris. I hope my firing you won't affect our marriage in any way."

Family Spin on White House Departure

Last Saturday, William A. Galston was once more not among the parents watching their kids playing Little League here. Instead of rooting and clapping for his son, infielder Ezra Moses Galston, 10 1/2, Galston was rooting and clapping for his president, lefthander William Jefferson Clinton, 48 1/2.

The president was not playing ball; he was speaking at a conference on character building and civility that Galston, his senior domestic policy adviser, had helped organize.

For years, Galston has been considering national domestic policy. More recently, he has been considering his own. And so next week, he will leave the White House, try his hardest not to miss any more of Ezra's games and return to academia in the fall.

Galston says he needs to spend more time with his family.

Not everyone has believed the explanation. People surely do not leave the White House for motives as mundane as that. One newspaper headline read: "Family Spin on a White House Departure." Galston, 49, tells that story with delight and special emphasis on the word "spin".... No, says Galston. It's the family, stupid.

"Younger people here work longer hours and work harder than I do, but I've given a lot, and it's come at the expense of my family"—wife, Miriam, a law school professor, and Ezra...On nights that he's worked late on National Service or Head Start reform and his wife has taught, Ezra would sometimes come to Dad's office, "but the thrill of coming to the White House wore off quickly."

"I tried to preserve a balance that seemed minimally tolerable, but it didn't seem so to him. He let me know in various ways that I was absent physically and emotionally from various important moments in his life."

Last year, Ezra wrote a letter to his father titled "Baseballs not fun." It said, in part:

"Baseballs not fun when there's no one to applaude you when you hit a triple and a double and steal two bases including home...."

The letter "was a blow to the solar plexus," says Ezra's father. "What do you say?"

If you're Galston, as you approach your 50th birthday, you say it's time to reclaim your jazz piano-playing skills, take more long walks with Miriam and play more ball with your son.

Next week, Galston is going home.

—*from* The Philadelphia Inquirer, *May 24, 1995*

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The humane values of home life have collided with the acquisitive values of getting and doing.

mechanical breakdowns to be repaired by technical experts. Do I fight with my spouse? We need a seminar on conflict management. Is our sex life lackluster? Time for a manual on new sexual methods. Is my child insecure? Let's purchase more expensive daycare, or perhaps some professional therapy.

This all hit home recently when I had a surprise pregnancy at age 42. I was working in a high-stress job, logging in 60 to 70 hours a week, providing a major portion of our family's income. How was a baby going to fit into this kind of schedule? The answer: A baby doesn't "fit in." Instead, it forces you to confront your deepest beliefs about what is important in life—and to work out a new life pattern consistent with those beliefs. In my case, that has involved switching to a new job within the organization, reducing my hours, and working mostly from home. This is not a matter of "management," it is following the dictates of the heart, it is recognizing what has real and enduring value, it is making a moral choice.

Work has become a disturbingly imperious force in America, and the obliteration of home life is every day furthered by corporations extending on-site services like daycare, health and fitness programs, and social and recreational activities. A new book called *Silent Sabotage* even calls on business to become the main restorer of personal virtue in society. Business, the author argues, is "the only institution left that has the power to reach people at the grassroots level and rebuild our shattered values system."

Whether or not we allow the world of work to dominate both our personal lives and our national culture in this way, the grim fact is that we have already let paid labor take over the vocabulary of living. If love is to retain a secure place in our daily existence, we will have to restore ways of thinking and talking derived from sectors other than work and social engineering. For the language of employment is too cramped to express the feelings and vested interests of the human heart.

Nancy Pearcey is fellow and policy director of the Wilberforce Forum, a Washington, D.C.-area educational organization.

It Pays to Value Family, Study Finds

Working moms and dads who early in their lives placed a bigger priority on family than on climbing the career ladder may be in for a pleasant surprise.

Persons who ranked family over work got paychecks of 4 to 7 percent more in the long run than those who declined to make family No. 1, according to a new study.

Poor family life—such as divorce or a bad marriage—may be hazardous to your work.

"If you have a bad family life, that takes a lot of time. And it's an enormous distraction while trying to work on your career," said Peter Cappelli, a management professor at University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School.

The study by Cappelli and two others—Jill Constantine of Williams College and Clint Chadwick of Wharton—contradicts other studies as well as the conventional wisdom that those who put family over career will earn lower wages.

"A stable, mature, and happy family life may well allow more time and energy to devote to the workplace than does a family life fraught with problems," the study said. "Putting it differently, avoiding a bad family life may really pay off."

The authors said that choosing early in life—at age 17 or 18—to make family a priority yields dividends in the workplace down the road.

The study, which covered 2,140 men and 2,128 women, is significantly different from previous surveys, its authors say.

For starters, according to the researchers, it draws on "longitudinal" data that has kept tabs over time on high school seniors from the early 1970s.

People who said in 1972 it was very important to "find the right person to marry" and "have a good family life" earned 4 percent to 7 percent more in pay 14 years later than those who put less value on marriage and family.

The study accounted for difference in education, work, experience, and marital status. The researchers also argued that most previous studies never considered the effects that a dysfunctional family life can have on wages and careers.

"A good family life may well demand time, energy, roles, etc. That potentially takes away from efforts needed to achieve in the workplace," said the study.

But it added that a poor family "may make even greater demands" on a person's time and efforts. "Finding the 'right' person to marry and making an investment in a good marriage from the beginning may be the most important factor in having a good family life," it said.

"This is sort of an exercise in investing in preventive maintenance," Cappelli said.

—*from* The Reuter Business Report, *June 13, 1995*

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Are Average Americans Really Overworked?

by
John P. Robinson and Geoffrey Godbey

In her best-selling book *The Overworked American*, Harvard economist Juliet Schor claimed that Americans were running endless circles in the "squirrel cage of capitalism," and consequently had few moments left to themselves. "According to my estimates," she wrote, "the average employed person is now on the job an additional 163 hours, or the equivalent of an extra month, a year." This argument hit a resounding chord in the American psyche.

In numerous surveys, Americans have indicated that the amount of free time they have is limited, less than they want, and less than they used to have. In one 1991 study, they estimated they had an average of only about 17 hours of free time per week, after taking care of their work and household obligations. Free time, an earlier Harris survey indicated, had declined by as much as one-third from the 1970s.

The idea that we have lost control of our time fits well with the psychology of victimization that flourishes today. There *must* be something keeping us from achieving all we're entitled to. It couldn't be just that our expectations are too vast and open-ended, or that we have used an increasing amount of free time poorly (such as 17 hours per week of television, on average). We *must* be working longer, because we feel so rushed now. As the McDonald's jingle says, "You deserve a break today."

Unfortunately, little attention has been given to the frailty of the numbers on which Schor's case is built. She relied heavily on people's ability to estimate, in response to a snap survey question, where their time goes during the week. Yet there is strong evidence that that technique does not produce reliable figures.

For this reason, we have carefully formulated an alternative method of determining what people do with their day—a complete time diary. Since 1965, we have been asking scientific samples of respondents to report, in written diaries, exactly what they did yesterday during specific time blocks. We ask them to report that single day's activity in their own words, not ours. We build in cross-checks to be sure that all their daily activities are accounted for.

These diary accounts give a much more accurate and detailed picture of a day in the life of Americans. When one compares the entries of people in time diaries with their survey estimates of working time, an escalating pattern of overestimation appears. For instance, workers whose diaries show 40 hours per week of paid work estimate they worked 43 hours. Workers who actually worked 55 hours estimate 80 hours on the job. Perhaps it feels that way to the toiler. But it's not true.

WEEKLY HOURS OF FREE TIME

	1965	1975	1985	Change
All Americans	34.6	38.6	39.5	+4.9
All men	35.3	38.8	40.1	+4.8
Employed men	32.6	35.0	36.1	+3.5
All women	33.9	38.3	38.9	+5.0
Employed women	27.2	29.9	34.0	+6.8

("Free time" refers to duty-free hours not devoted to sleeping, working, personal care, child care, or keeping house.)

Source: Author's data.

Moreover, comparisons of diary and survey data show that overestimation of total work hours has increased over the years—from about one hour in 1965 to an average of 7 hours a week too much in 1985. And overestimation is not peculiar to Americans. Virtually the same pattern is found in eight other Western countries where we have compared estimated and diary data.

So the snap survey judgments Americans make about how long they work should not be believed. When one looks instead at time-diary data, they do not show any mass overwork syndrome at all. Quite the opposite: *they show that free time is on the rise* (see accompanying chart). Incidentally, government statistics on work hours collected from *employers* back up our diary data; they too show that work hours declined over the last few decades.

Thus, no reliable evidence supports claims of an increase in the workweek. Among women, of course, there has been a significant increase in the number of individuals at work. This leads to more employed workhours for women in total—but not to increases per average worker. And the greater likelihood of employment among women has been offset by the shorter hours of employment among women and men both, as well as by the declining levels of work among people ages 55 and older.

A variety of factors may account for Americans' false impression of overwork. Perhaps first and foremost, Americans do feel more rushed. Our 1992 research shows that 38 percent of the adult public now say they "always" feel rushed, an increase from 22 percent in 1971. People who feel more rushed and more stressed, we suggest, are more likely to overestimate how long they work. The myriad reasons for feeling rushed include the racing rate of change in the contemporary world, accelerating consumption of goods and experiences, more small and single-person households (which eliminates economies of housework), and increases in commuting time associated with sharp increases in suburban living. Additionally, uncertainty about jobs, the increasing need to meet deadlines, more reliance on instant communication, and other factors can make the pace of life more harried.

But however stressed we feel, we should maintain a true perspective: our parents and grandparents had less free time than we do.

John P. Robinson is professor of sociology and director of the Americans' Use of Time Project at the University of Maryland. Geoffrey Godbey is professor of leisure studies at Pennsylvania State University.

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PAYDAY MAYDAY

FALLING WAGES. $ DECLINING LIVING STANDARDS. $ PARENTS ABANDONING THEIR BABIES TO DAY CARE BECAUSE THEY CAN'T AFFORD NOT TO WORK. $ YOUNG ADULTS EARNING LESS THAN THEIR OWN MOTHERS AND FATHERS DID. $ ARE AMERICANS WORKING HARDER AND GETTING LESS? $ HAVE WE REACHED THE END OF THE AMERICAN DREAM? $ OR ARE BABY BOOMERS AND GENERATION XERS JUST CRYBABIES?

BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

The date: July 1988. The scene: the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta—the big night when Texas Treasurer and Governor-to-be Ann Richards delivers the convention's keynote address. The country is in the midst of its longest and strongest economic expansion in decades. Income per person, measured in constant dollars, has risen by 15 percent over the previous six years. By the end of the decade the United States will have created 18 million new jobs and added extra productive output equivalent to the entire West German economy.

As the centerpiece of her oration, Richards reads a poignant letter from a "young mother in Lorena, Texas." The woman and her husband both work. They have three school-age children. And they are finding it very hard to get by. "Our worries go from payday to payday.... I pray my kids don't have a growth spurt from August to December so I don't have to buy new jeans.... We ponder and try to figure out how we're going to pay for college, braces, and tennis shoes. We don't take vacations or go out to eat." With that economic lament as its theme (and the young mother's plea for government help as its agenda for action), the speech is well received. "The death of the American dream" is a message trumpeted and re-trumpeted on editorial pages and talk shows all across the land.

Just one election cycle later, Bill Clinton rides this theme of middle-class anguish right into the White House. The mournful idea that Americans are falling down the economic mobility ladder and can't afford to raise families any more has reached critical mass. In one of 1992's best-selling novels—Michael Crichton's *Rising Sun*—the senator who is a main character makes the case:

> Think back to the fifties, when American workers could own a house, raise a family, and send the kids to college, all on a single paycheck. Now both parents work and most people still can't afford a house. The dollar buys less, everything is more expensive. People struggle just to hold on to what they have. They can't get ahead.

By 1995 the story had become a central part of the conventional wisdom. Across the cultural and political spectrums it's agreed that wages are down, that young adults can't afford to drop out of the workforce to raise their children, that we aren't living as well as the previous generation.

It's a popular, and troubling, argument. But is it true?

ROLLER-COASTER INCOME GROWTH

When it comes to American earnings over the last two decades there is both good news and bad news. The good news is that our economy has continued to be an engine of prosperity, and that overall income per head in this country now stands at an all-time high and is still growing steadily. The bad news is that the kind of family we picture on a Norman Rockwell porch has taken some knocks over the last generation. There is good

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reason for certain sorts of families to feel pinched today. Other households, however, are merely whining. The full story takes some explaining, which we'll attempt in the pages following.

Over the last generation, household earnings have stagnated more than once. The decade of economic chaos that started with the first OPEC oil price rise in 1973, developing into the double-digit inflation of the late 1970s and finally the dual recessions of 1979–80 and 1981–82, was not kind to family incomes. The median income of married-couple families peaked at $38,725 in 1973 (this figure and those that follow are all expressed in constant 1992 dollars), and then began a roller-coaster ride. By 1982, the married-couple median stood at $38,185—actually a small decline. Lots of people had upset stomachs.

Income rose briskly through the 1980s, however, and married couples reached a median of $42,064 in 1992. Over the full 19-year period 1973–1992, though, that still left the total real income gain of married couples at a modest 9 percent. This compares to a rise of 83 percent over the 20 years prior to 1973. The economic black hole of 1973–1982 thus took a lasting whack out of the U.S. living standard. It caused social disruptions (delayed nest-leaving, deferred marriages and births, increased working hours among parents, reductions in family size, housing strains), and it was psychologically traumatic for Americans accustomed to the idea of each generation easily exceeding the previous one in material comfort.

Factors like weakened U.S. family structure, poor schools in many places, new technologies that reduce labor demand, and global economic competition have kept wage growth moderate through the mid-1990s. And different types of workers have prospered unevenly. Unskilled laborers have fared worse than others, because the new economic environment places strong premiums on knowledge.

Recent decades have also not been a good time to be male—a white male in particular. From 1967 to 1992, the median income of white males actually *fell* 4 percent. Black males experienced a dip of 1 percent. Meanwhile, the income of women leaped upward, rising 57 percent for black females and 54 percent for white females.

From 1967 to 1992, the median income of white males actually *fell* 4 percent. Meanwhile the median income of black females leapt upward by 57 percent.

The income of women rose so fast both because they were working more and because they were being paid a lot more. In 1967, married couples where both partners were employed had median earnings equivalent to $38,480 in 1992 dollars. By 1992, the median income for those same dual-earner couples was up to $49,984, a jump of 30 percent. The largest part of the increase was in the wife's income.

Meanwhile, married couples where the wife was not in the paid labor force—still the commonest configuration for families raising young children—didn't do nearly so well. In constant 1992 dollars, their median income rose from $29,417 to $30,326—a minimal 3 percent gain in 25 years. The recent era has definitely squeezed male breadwinners and traditional one-earner families.

THE GREAT DIVIDE

Childrearers in particular came under economic pressure. Census Bureau income statistics collated according to the presence of offspring show that while families with no children experienced big economic gains over the last quarter-century (a 36 percent jump in inflation-adjusted median income), families with one to two children did considerably less than half that well, while families with three children saw hardly any gain at all in median income. Families with more than three children actually ended up much *worse* off.

In short: the more your household looked like a traditional family, the worse it fared economically in the period since 1967. The great divide in the workplace, says social historian Allan Carlson, is now parental status. Undistracted by outside responsibilities and calls on their time, the childless have become super-earners. Uncompensated for their investments in their children, parents have become income laggards. Families with children find it increasingly difficult to compete in the same market with career-focused, high-spending, "child-free" adults, because "those without children can monopolize the highest-paying jobs and...drive up the price of everything from housing to health care to transportation," as sociologists Janet and Larry Hunt point out.

It's been estimated that if you look at two husbands of the same age—one with a wife, and one with a wife and two children to support—the father will need to earn 167 percent as much as the childless man to enjoy the same economic standard of living. But instead of earning more, childraising families today are actually earning less. With fewer dollars and greater expenses, parents have seen their standard of living slip compared to others around them.

As if the income trends weren't enough, the federal government has allowed the tax burden to shift sharply away from singles and childless couples and onto families with children instead. In hopes of partially correcting this, the House of Representatives passed the $500 per child tax credit that now languishes in the Senate.

FAMILIES TRY TO COMPENSATE

There are only a couple things that parents can do to try to even things up. One is to have the breadwinning spouse take a second job to bolster the family income. Record numbers of married men have done just that in recent years. The other, more dramatic, choice is to have both parents work, instead of allowing one (typically the wife) to concentrate on caring for the children when they are very young. American families have been doing this in droves.

The jump in jobholding among mothers of young children is usually characterized as a product of new options and opportunities for women, and to some degree it is. But many mothers today leave their young children behind very reluctantly, going to work in those early years only because they feel driven to: If married couples had exhibited the same labor

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force participation levels in 1988 as they did in 1960, the poverty rate of their children would have been a quarter to a third higher, according to a study by economists David Eggebeen and Daniel Lichter.

Labor market forces, however, are complex and interlinked, and if many women went to work because their husband's earnings were growing more slowly, the cycle also fed back in reverse. To put it simply, the economy *adjusted* to the two-earner family by scaling back the wages of the first earner. With millions of mothers surging into the job market there couldn't help but be a depressing effect on the wages of fathers. Working mothers were thus both a result and a *cause* of reduced earnings for fathers.

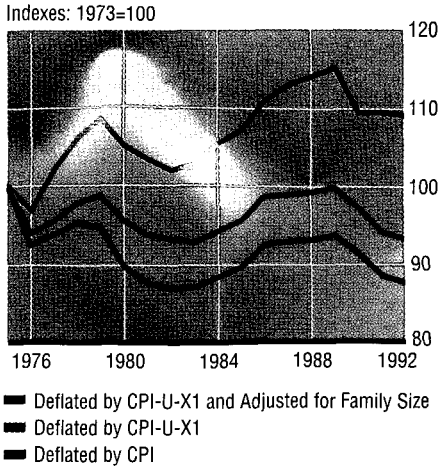
INFLATING ERRORS

So: American childrearing families definitely went through a tough patch over the last generation. It's important we avoid overblowing the case, however. It is sometimes claimed that economic standards in this country actually declined during the 1970s and early 1980s—that we were going backward and surrendering previously attained lifestyle accoutrements. That is false. The problem is not that we lost ground but that income failed to increase as fast as expectations.

Eager activists and journalists have often over-interpreted the evidence. A 1991 front-page article in the *Washington Post*, for instance, intoned that "young families with children suffered a 24 percent decline in median income between 1973 and 1987, *a figure that approaches the 27 percent decline in per capita income in the Depression years.*" An article that came out a year later editorialized that "by most measures, the living standard is lower now than it was in the late 1970s." These statements mismatch incompatible figures and outright errors.

Many of the income figures commonly bandied about in political arguments contain one particularly egregious inaccuracy: In the 1960s, '70s and early '80s, there was an error in the formula with which the U.S. Department of Labor calculated changes in the Consumer Price Index. Since this index was used to make inflation-cancelling adjustments in the official income numbers, they too were thrown off. The department recognized and corrected the error in 1983. By then, though, many years worth of official statistics had already been skewed. Corrected inflation and income figures going back to 1967 were published (the CPI-U-X1 data), but because so many important things (like the yearly increases in Social Security checks) are linked to the old, official numbers, they cannot be dumped altogether, badly flawed though they are.

Median Family Income, with Adjustments, 1973–1992



Source: *The New Illustrated Guide to the American Economy*, Herbert Stein and Murray Foss, AEI Press, 1995.

For analytical purposes, the right data to use are the corrected ones, and most scholars do. (In my discussions above, I have used the corrected data.) But people unaware of the statistical history—like most journalists—usually grab for the commoner old numbers. And they show 9 percentage points less growth in family income over the 16 years 1967–1983 than what actually took place.

Another common mistake is to compare apples to oranges. When making median income comparisons over time you must be sure you are looking at the same kind of family. The characteristics of the average family (configuration, number of members, mean age, etc.) have changed a lot over the decades, and if you don't match equivalent households when you compare their income, you will be misled. Families, for instance, have become considerably smaller: the average family had 12 percent fewer members in 1993 than in 1970. And a smaller family with the same income is actually richer.

When you correct the family income statistics for family size and the bad inflation adjuster, you find that average family income is clearly up since 1973, not down. In 1993, economists Richard Easterlin, Christine Schaeffer, and Diane Macunovich extended the calculations back somewhat further, so that baby boomers could be compared directly to their own parents. They carefully adjusted for differences in the number and age of family members, took inflation into account, and then calculated income available per adult equivalent. Their results show that today's baby boomers are, on average, about two-thirds better off than their parents were at the same age.

RISING NON-CASH INCOME

And even these sorts of adjusted figures underestimate overall family income gains over the last generation. That's because more and more income during this time span came in a form other than cash. One of the biggest workplace trends of recent decades has been to pay an increasing share of each employee's compensation in non-cash benefits like health insurance, pension contributions, life insurance, and other perks (all of which are tax free) rather than salary. Fringe benefits amount to fully 30 percent of total compensation now—*twice* the level of the early 1970s. Though these fringe benefits serve the family like income, they are ignored in most calculations of economic well-being.

Similarly, the federal government now gives lower-income families over $100 billion more in annual non-cash aid like food stamps, housing assistance, and health care than it did in the 1970s, yet none of this gets counted in the official income statistics. If you take account of the increasing volume of family compensation that now arrives in a form other than reported cash, economist Richard McKenzie has estimated, the real rise in family income since the beginning of the 1970s is approximately 30 percent. Hardly a new "Great Depression."

There is independent confirmation of this family income growth in a different kind of income data. While family income statistics are only as accurate as the answers given to surveyers who knock on people's doors or call on the phone, the Census Bureau and the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis also publish other

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numbers that measure income on a per capita basis—by totaling up all the funds circulating in the consumer economy and then dividing by the number of men, women and children. And these series show strong U.S. income growth: from 1970 to 1993, spendable income per American rose 45 percent in constant, inflation-adjusted dollars.

Again, this doesn't match the extraordinary growth of the 1950s and '60s. And there is still the critical issue of relative standing—it remains a fact that families with just one earner did much less well than families with two, that families containing children lagged those without, that larger families especially have trailed behind. One thing, however, is clear: it is absolutely false to argue that Americans have less economic wherewithal than they used to.

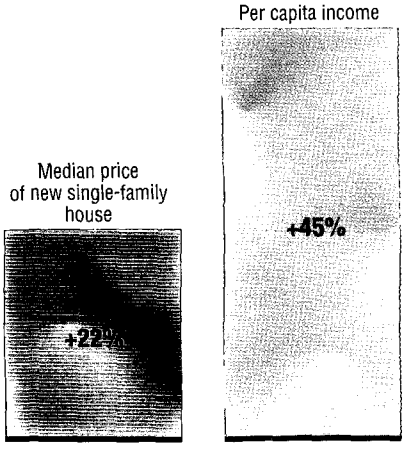
TEST OF THE GENERATIONAL LAMENT: HOUSING COSTS

The lament of baby boomers and Generation Xers that the good life of the American Dream has slipped beyond their reach is thus basically inaccurate. To see how easy it is to fall into unjustified self-pity in this area, let's look at one of the gripes that rankles young Americans more than any other today—the high cost of housing. In reality, today's housing market isn't nearly so unfriendly to young families as is often claimed.

The simplest proof of this is that 57 percent of all married couples under the age of 35 owned their own home at the time of the last national housing census in 1989. That's up by a *third* from a generation back. The general rate of U.S. homeownership (households of all ages) has risen from 46 percent in 1920 to 55 percent in 1950 to 64 percent in 1991. Moreover, people are quite satisfied with what they're ending up living in. A recent government survey showed that two-thirds of today's households give their house and neighborhood a rating of 8 or better on a scale of 1 to 10.

"How is this possible?" you may ask, "I've been following house prices, and I know they've gone through the roof." It's true that if you simply track the median cost of a new home, the rise from

Increases in Housing Costs vs. Income 1970–1993 (after inflation)



Source: Author's calculations from U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Bureau of the Census, and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development data.

$23,400 to $126,500 over the last quarter-century seems shocking. But that's a meaningless figure. Corrected for inflation, that increase falls to 22 percent. And since per capita income rose by twice that amount over the same period, new housing actually became *more* rather than less affordable over a generation, despite the big run-up in paper costs.

In any case, the median price of a new-built single-family structure isn't a great way to judge whether a young family can afford homeownership today. By definition, a median price means fully *half* of all units are cheaper. Those will be the entry-level units. Besides, a freestanding single-family house is not really the right benchmark here. To judge the affordability of entry-level home ownership we ought to be looking at *starter* houses, which are often duplexes, townhouses, or condos, and not new ones.

New-built units, which are a small minority of all houses sold, have increased in price much faster than existing homes. If you look at all houses available instead of just new ones, it turns out that the median value of one-family homes went up just 5 percent between the 1980 and 1990 censuses. Existing houses—"used" houses if you will—actually declined somewhat in price. (And "used" doesn't necessarily mean old: more than half of all the homes in the United States today were built less than 25 years ago.)

After factoring in mortgage rates plus utility, insurance, and other expenses of first-time buyers, Harvard University's Joint Center for Housing Studies reported in 1992 that homeownership costs stood at their lowest level in more than a decade and a half. When you cross-reference this against rising family incomes during the 1980s you find that existing houses have become about 15 percent more affordable, on average, since 1980. Claims that today's young adults are being squeezed out of the American home-buying dream are, quite simply, hot air.

THE REVOLUTION OF RISING EXPECTATIONS

What's really driving the feeling of overstretch among baby boomers and Generation Xers when it comes to housing (and other areas) is the Revolution of Rising Expectations. Our appetites are growing rapidly. We expect much more than earlier generations did.

Today's average new house is *twice* as big as one built after World War II. As recently as 1970, Census Bureau figures show, new-built homes averaged 1,500 square feet; now the norm is more than 2,100 square feet. Since households are simultaneously getting smaller—shrinking from a mean of 3.4 persons in 1950 to 3.1 in 1970 and then 2.5 today—this means a lot more space per person in the basic American bungalow. More than 95 percent of all occupied housing units in this country now contain more rooms than people, and the average is well over two rooms per occupant. Of course all that extra space means we must buy more stuff to fill it—furniture, rugs, drapes, phones, you name it. Then we must maintain it all. This creates a "cost burden."

Today's buyers consider far more housing amenities "standard" than their parents did: More than three-quarters of all new houses have central air conditioning today, versus just 34 percent in 1970. Forty-five percent have 2 1/2 or more bathrooms, way up from 16 percent. Two-thirds have at least one fireplace, compared to 35 percent in 1970. In 1970, only 58 percent of new houses had a garage. Now 82 percent do (and seven out of eight of them can hold two or more vehicles). We are much more likely to expect our homes to be stocked with washers and dryers, dishwashers, vacuum cleaners, stereos, coffee makers, mi-

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crowaves, ceiling fans, garage door openers, color TVs, cable wiring, and VCRs.

Much of what currently gets passed off as rising cost burden in the residential realm is actually "expectation inflation." It's true, many young buyers couldn't purchase ma and pa's "terminal" home today—but then neither could ma and pa at the time of their first purchase. Many baby boomers have managed to keep this in perspective. One young mother wrote me a couple of years ago to say "I'm so sick of hearing about how families can't live on one paycheck anymore.... Perhaps someday you can make the point that the previous generation of parents lived in two-bedroom homes, owned one car, went to parties that were BYOB, and didn't have good furniture until their children were teenagers (I remember all that from my own childhood)." Nurse and mother Janet Pekarek makes much the same point: "When my mom and dad bought a new house...it was a concrete slab with three bedrooms and a kitchen and living room. We didn't have a dryer. We didn't have a color TV until the '60s.... Now in a new home, they wouldn't even think of not putting a basement in. And it comes with your microwave, your dishwasher." In an interview in the *Wall Street Journal*, Kansan Keith Marier compares his situation to that of his parents in another area: leisure and travel. "I can remember the big vacation was to go visit my dad's relatives, about an hour and a half away. That ain't Vegas. When I get time off, I go someplace. East coast, west coast."

The average American now consumes literally twice as many goods and services as back in 1950, when the previous generation was starting their families. In fact, government figures show that the *poorest* fifth of the U.S. population today consumes more than the *typical* family did in 1955. Going back one more generation to 1928, the number of consumer durables purchased annually per American has gone up 10 times over. If we can't afford to raise children and live decent family lives any more, how come we can afford so much chrome, lumber, leather, and electronics?

If this seems unsympathetic, return for a moment to that struggling young mother from Lorena, Texas who was held up by Ann Richards at the Democratic Convention. It turns out her struggling family had savings in the bank, lived in a house they owned, and had an annual income of more than $68,000 in current dollars. As Ben Wattenberg of the American Enterprise Institute expostulated after the incident, "This is the family model that the out-of-power party offers as to what's wrong with America?"

Certainly a $68,000 income leaves a family room to occasionally feel a little "pinched." But can someone in this situation rightfully claim that their work is unrewarded, that decent family life is beyond their reach, that worthy personal goals are unattainable? Has it become the responsibility of the government or society at large to make family life free of trade-offs?

A REAL-LIFE STORY

Ultimately, the best way to appreciate what has happened to American living standards is to think of them in terms of real people, not dead statistics. Let me offer the prime example of my own 94-year-old grandmother. She and my grandfather, who is no longer alive, were farmers in central Ohio until they retired about 20 years ago.

A couple of years back I was leafing through some of my grandmother's old family photos when I came to one I had never seen before. It was a picture of her dad breaking a pony. The animal was pulling a large-spoked wagon down a dirt road. The detail that startled me, though, was in the background. Plainly visible in the scrub orchard behind the pony was the home my grandmother lived in until she was 10 years old.

Having often heard family stories about how that house had been moved across the road using rollers and long levers, I had a clear image of it in my mind's eye. But the small black and white view in my hands was a revelation. Instead of the solid farmhouse I'd imagined, there stood a small, four-window, board-built affair with a lean-to porch—little more than a shanty, really. I'd known my grandmother's people were hardworking folks, but this curled slip of silvered paper made starkly clear how far she (and the rest of her generation) had traveled in one lifetime—and how plushly cushioned work and family life are today in comparison.

That board house had two rooms: a kitchen and a combination living room/bedroom. My grandmother was born in the living room after a difficult labor with no anesthetics or modern medicine. She slept in her parents' bed for several years until her baby sister arrived, at which point she shifted to the couch. As a girl she attended a one-room school.

When she was married she lived in a house without electric service. Night lighting came from coal oil lamps. She cooked on a wood-burning stove until she was 37 years old. My grandmother had to make her own butter, butcher her own hogs, chickens, and cattle, and preserve herself most of the food the family ate during the winter. For years, her only means of refrigeration was to suspend perishables in the dark cool of the family well. She had no indoor plumbing until she was nearly 40. My grandfather was a progressive farmer, and was one of the first persons in his area to get a tractor. Nonetheless, he plowed and planted his fields using horse teams for many years.

My grandmother was neither wealthy nor poor; she lived a life that was representative of millions of her contemporaries. Indeed, both she and my grandfather were college educated, making them better off than some. These are not the conditions of some strange, ancient world; they were the daily life experiences of millions of still-living men and women, of mainstream American families just two generations back.

When sometimes-jangly voices assert that today's workers are in a bad state, that American parents can no longer afford to raise their children, that upward mobility is at an end, we need to keep in mind facts like those above. In our fantastically rich era it is all too easy to stop noticing the small indices of economic progress, and to stop appreciating how privileged our current generation is compared to all predecessors. Taking for granted the opportunities that everyday work holds open to contemporary Americans would be bad social analysis. What's worse, it would make us ingrates.

Karl Zinsmeister is editor in chief of The American Enterprise.

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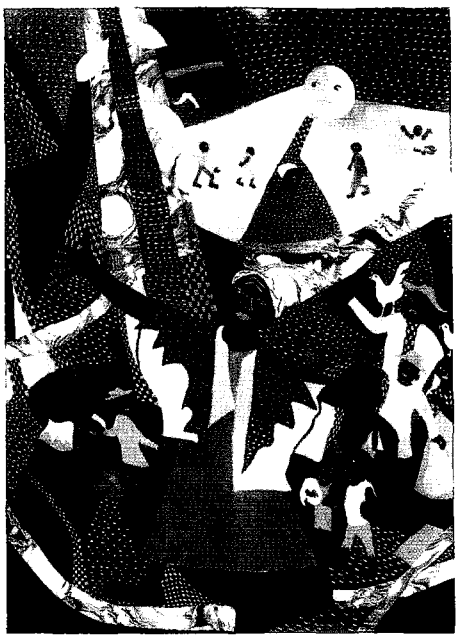
On Honoring Blackness



BY HENRY LOUIS GATES, JR.

I was once walking in Washington, D.C. with my two young daughters, heading for the National Zoo, when one asked if I knew the man to whom I had just spoken. I said no. My daughter Liza volunteered that she found it embarrassing that I would speak to a complete stranger on the street. It called to mind a trip I'd made to Pittsburgh with my father. On the way, I heard Daddy speak to a colored man, then saw him tip his hat to the man's wife. It's just something that you do, he said, when I asked him if he had known those people and why had he spoken to them.

Last summer, I sat at a sidewalk café in Italy, and three or four "black" Italians walked casually by, as well as a dozen or more blacker Africans. Each nodded his head slightly or acknowledged me by a glance, ever so subtly. When I was growing up, we always did this with each other, passing boats in a sea of white folk.

Some Negroes distrust this reflex—the nod, the glance, the murmured greeting. One reason is a resentment at being lumped together with 30 million African Americans whom they don't know and most of whom they never will know. Completely by the accident of racism we have been bound together with people we may or may not have something in common with, just because we are "black." Thirty million is a lot of people. One day you wonder: What do the misdeeds of a Mike Tyson have to do with me? So why do I feel implicated? And how can I not feel racial recrimination when I can feel racial pride?

Then, too, there are Negroes who are embarrassed about *being* Negroes, who didn't want to be bothered with race and with other black people. One of the more painful things about being colored is being colored in public around other colored people who are embarrassed to be colored and embarrassed that we *both* are colored and in public together. I used to reserve my special scorn for those Negroes, but have gradually stopped trying to tell others how to be black.

I wonder if my children will remember when their mother and I woke them up early on a Sunday morning, just to watch Nelson Mandela walk out of prison, and how it took a couple of hours for him to emerge, and how they both wanted to go back to bed and, then, to watch cartoons? And how we began to worry that something bad had happened to him on the way out, because the delay was so long? And how, when he finally walked out of that prison, we were so excited and teary-eyed at Mandela's nobility, his princeliness, his straight back and unbowed head? I think I felt that there walked the Negro, as Pop might have said; there walked the whole of the African people, as regal as any king. And that feeling I had, that gooseflesh sense of identity that I felt at seeing Nelson Mandela, listening to Mahalia Jackson sing, watching Muhammad Ali fight, or hearing Martin Luther King speak, is part of what I mean by being colored. I realize the sentiment may not be logical, but I want to have my cake and eat it too. Which is why I still nod or speak to black people on the street and why it felt so good to be acknowledged by the Afro-Italians who passed my table at the café in Milan.

I want to be able to take special pride in a Jessye Norman aria, a Michael Jordan dunk, a Spike Lee movie, a Thurgood Marshall opinion, a Toni Morrison novel, James Brown's Camel Walk. I enjoy the unselfconscious moments of shared cultural intimacy, whatever form it takes, when no white people are around. Like Joe Louis's fights, which my father still talks about as part of a fixed repertoire of stories. His eyes shine as he describes how Louis hit Max Schmeling so many times and so hard, and how some reporter asked him, after the fight: "Joe, what would you have done if that last punch hadn't knocked Schmeling out?" And how ole Joe responded, without missing a beat: "I'da run around behind him to see what was holdin' him up!"

Even so, I rebel at the notion that I can't be part of other groups, that I can't construct identities through elective affinity, that race must be the most important thing about me. Is that what I want on my gravestone: Here lies an African American? So I'm divided. I want to be black, to know black, to luxuriate in whatever I might be calling blackness at any particular time—but to do so in order to come out the other side, to experience a humanity that is neither colorless nor reducible to color. Bach *and* James Brown. Sushi *and* fried catfish. Part of me admires those people who can say with a straight face that they have transcended any attachment to a particular community or group...but I always want to run around behind them to see what holds them up.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., is W.E.B. DuBois professor of humanities at Harvard University. This article is adapted from his 1994 memoir Colored People.

Illustration by Barbara Olsen

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Beware of Race-Pride

BY KWAME ANTHONY APPIAH

When approached about Afrocentric education I often ask why we should teach African-American children something different from what we teach other American children. Afrocentrists provide two answers: because African-American children come from a different culture; and because we should teach all people about their own traditions.

The first answer is paradoxical because it proposes to solve the problems created by the fact that children have different cultures by emphasizing and entrenching these differences, not by trying to reduce them. I have no problem with the argument that children's home environments need to be taken into account in deciding how to teach them: there's no point in talking to kids in languages or dialects they don't understand. But this means only that culture may sometimes make a difference in how you should teach, not what you should teach. And defending teaching children different histories (Afrocentric history) or different forms of speech or writing (black English) on the grounds that this is already their culture simply begs the question. If we teach African-American children different histories from other children, then, indeed, it will become true that knowing one history while remaining ignorant of others will be part of African-American culture.

The Afrocentric argument that we must teach each child the culture of his group is powerful, yet I am skeptical. Teaching students "their own" history inevitably leads to exclusion of students who don't fit the group. Besides, traditions are worth teaching because they are good and true, never because they are mine or thine. And even if teaching children "their" history were beneficial, it would not be practical for American public schools to do so. For this would eventually require segregation into cultural groups either within or between public schools in ways that would plainly be unconstitutional. If we did have classes teaching Jewish history, and African-American history, and Anglo history and Hispanic history, and Chinese history in our schools, by what right would we forbid children from going to the "wrong" class?

There are things that we surely all believe should be taught American children, namely, the history of the American political system. This is an important reason why we cannot hope to teach each child only his cultural tradition: understanding the American constitutional system and its history requires us to know about slavery and immigration, about the Civil War and Reconstruction, the Underground Railroad and Ellis Island. If there is a sense in which each of these belongs more to the history of one social groups more than others, there is also a clear sense in which they all belong to us all.

Although many African Americans would like their children to learn African-American history and literature, we must resist resorting to Afrocentric self-exclusion. Instead we should seek in our educational systems to make multiple sub-cultures known to each other. A multicultural education should be one that leaves you not only knowing and loving what is good in the traditions of your own sub-culture but also understanding and appreciating the traditions of others (and also critically rejecting the worst of all traditions). The principle of selection is clear: we should try to teach about those traditions that have been important to American history. This means that we begin with Native American and Protestant Dutch and English and African and Iberian cultures, adding voices to the story as they were added to the nation. (All of this, I should add, presupposes a general improvement in the quality of American elementary and secondary education.)

Unlike Afrocentrism, this approach to educating our children may aid us in the difficult task of managing a multicultural society. When people organize around their own separate groups the result is not just difficulty in understanding across cultures but that we end up preferring our own kind. And if we prefer our own kind, it is easy enough to slip into preferring to vote for our own kind, to employ our own kind, and so on. These loyalties will be mobilized in politics unless a civic culture can be created that explicitly seeks to exclude them. And that is why real multiculturalism—pluralism, to use an older word—is so necessary: it is the only way to build bridges of loyalty across the ethnicities that have so often divided us.

The task for teachers and scholars is not to replace one ethnocentrism with many; not to reject old Western ideals of truth and impartiality as intrinsically biased. Rather it is to recognize that these ideals have yet to be fully lived up to in our scholarship; that the bias has derived not from scholars who took Western standards of truth (which often turn out to be everybody's standards) for granted, but that they didn't take them seriously enough.

Kwame Anthony Appiah is a professor of African-American Studies at Harvard University. This text is excerpted from a Bradley Lecture delivered at the American Enterprise Institute.

Illustration by Barbara Olsen

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Pride and Prejudice

The Errors of Afrocentrism

by Dinesh D'Souza

At Bunche Middle School in southwest Atlanta, teacher Carolyn Huff argues that the mathematical wisdom of ancient Egypt can help her students solve algebra problems. Huff claims that the standard algebra textbook misleads students because it does not credit Egypt with discovering ways to represent unknown variables. Long before the Greeks used the *x* and the *y*, she says, Egyptians around 4,500 B.C. thought of representing variables with the word *aha*. Yet when Huff proceeds to write a series of fractions on the board, the students are stumped. Huff argues that their ignorance is beside the point. What's important, she says, is for students to acknowledge the racial heritage of what she calls "*aha* calculus." As for simple arithmetic, Huff admits, "I know they don't really understand fractions."

Ethnic groups in America have long taken pride in their various heritages. But this process has been taken to new extremes by what is known as Afrocentrism. Radical Afrocentrism asserts all sorts of dubious claims for Africa's past, at the expense of truth and, sometimes, the current needs of African Americans. Worse, contemporary Afrocentrism is often based less on celebration of black achievements than on anger and resentment toward other peoples.

Afrocentrism and other "multicultural" programs repudiate European institutions, including Western scholarly norms, and embrace instead an alternative "black reality." This Afrocentric approach is pervasive in inner-city schools in Atlanta, Milwaukee, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. It even appears in mixed-race, middle-class suburbs like Prince George's County, Maryland, where a speaker at an Afrocentrism conference told how melanin, the coloring agent in skin, helps blacks "speak and read faster," as well as "glide in the air like a Magic Johnson or hit top speeds like Florence Joyner."

D.C. Schools Superintendent Franklin Smith hired consultant Abena Walker for $250,000 to develop a pilot Afrocentric program for the students in his charge, who rank among the nation's poorest achievers. Walker trains teachers at an unaccredited institution called Pan-African University, which she founded and from which she awarded herself her own master's degree. The outline for her elementary-school education program calls for harnessing the power of *Nommo*, or African "word magic," because "to control *Nommo* is to control the generation and transformation of sound, energy, thoughts, and action." Walker acknowledges that her approach does not emphasize traditional academics: "We feel that academics, that's the easy part, because our children are just brilliant." But Russell Adams, chairman of the Afro-American studies department at Howard, the capital's historically black university, disagrees. He has attacked Walker's brand of Afrocentrism, complaining that "neophytes" and "dilettantes" are jeopardizing the education of young people with claims that fail to "sort out historic fact from fiction."

Portrait of an Egyptian, from a mummy found at Hawara, painted about 150 A.D. Afrocentrists insist that ancient Egypt was a Negroid culture. Actually, experts say, it was a multiracial Mediterranean civilization.

Afrocentrism is not limited to schools: it is increasingly the official ideology of rap musicians, community activists (including the Nation of Islam), and black

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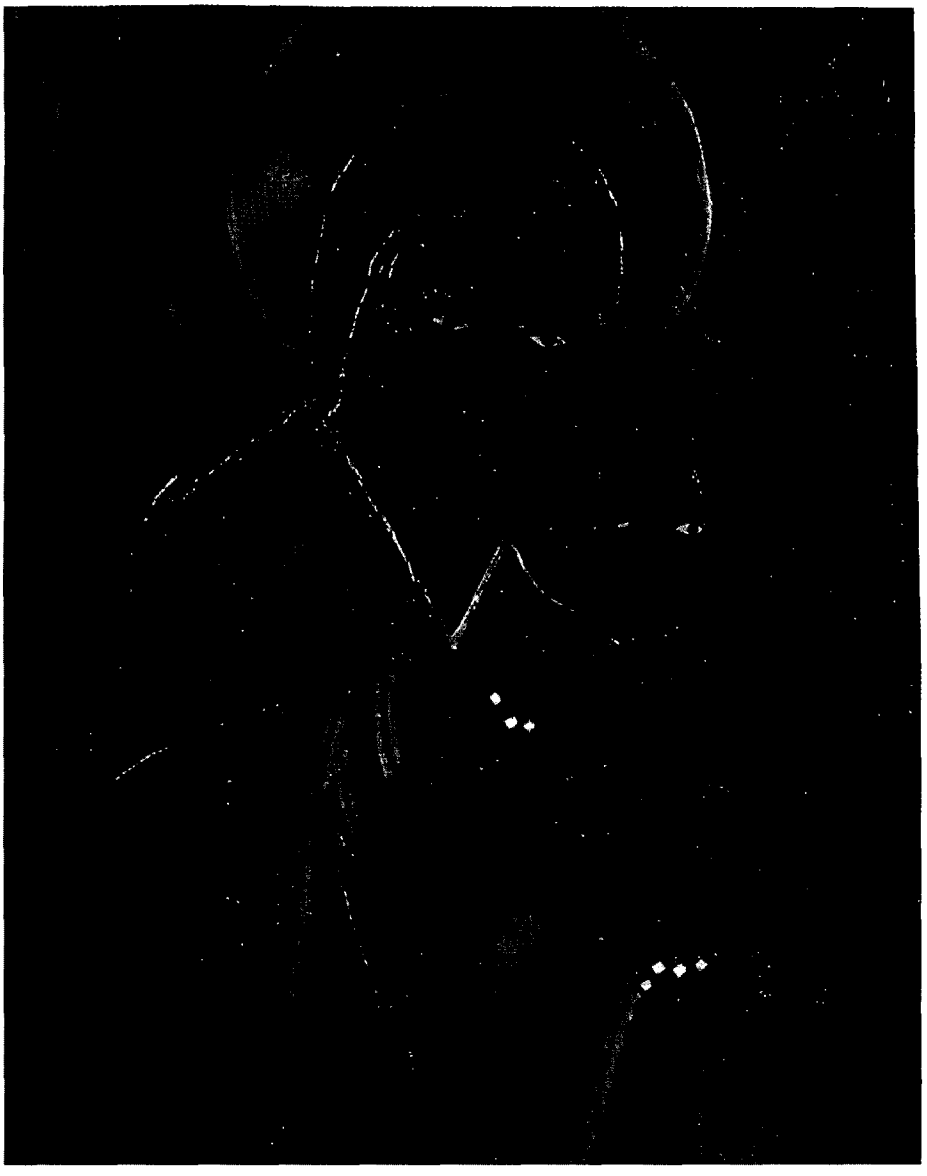
prisoners. Afrocentric claims routinely make their way into mainstream black literature. In Lerone Bennett's *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*, for instance, Bennett finds "parallels between African philosophy and modern subatomic physics." In *Why Black People Tend to Shout*, Ralph Wiley credits blacks with inventing the phonograph and the cotton gin, and with pioneering open-heart surgery—claims that are not historically accurate.

Who are the Afrocentrists? Many of them are American black nationalists from the 1960s who have given themselves new names and African accents in order to promulgate what they believe to be a distinctive African worldview. Molefi Asante is probably the leading Afrocentrist in America. Head of the African Studies Department at Temple University, he is also an architect of several school programs designed to transform the traditional curriculum in an Afrocentric direction. "Deify your ancestors," Asante exhorts. He adds that "a total rewrite of the major events and developments in the world is long overdue. Our facts are in our history; use them. Their facts are in their history; and they have certainly used theirs. All truth resides in our own experiences."

As a consequence of this relativized view of truth, Afrocentrists seem unabashed about teaching young black students information that is judged dubious, even preposterous, by mainstream scholars. Nor are Afrocentrists noticeably chagrined by an absence of professional training in the specialized fields from which their confident claims are drawn. While a few leading Afrocentrists are recognized scholars, many are political activists, ministers in the Nation of Islam, laboratory technicians, musicians, social workers, and self-taught former convicts.

One of the most widely used Afrocentric texts is the *African-American Baseline Essays*, a teaching manual used in public schools in Portland, Atlanta, Detroit, and elsewhere. The scientific sections of the *African-American Baseline Essays* were authored by Hunter Adams, who lists himself as a "research scientist at Argonne National Laboratory in Chicago." But according to the information office of Argonne, Adams is in fact a technician whose job is to collect environmental samples. Although identified as "Dr. Hunter Adams" in the baseline essays, Argonne's spokesman reports he has a high school degree only and "does no research at Argonne on any topic."



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Afrocentrists assert that Jesus Christ was an "Afro-Asiatic Jew" who looked like an "African American of today." Biblical scholars note that the Bible makes no reference to Christ's skin color or racial features.

Afrocentrists openly reject scholarly and scientific techniques as a form of Western "tricknology," and use "legends" and "religious cults" as evidence instead. Accuse Molefi Asante of promulgating myths and he responds, "We act mythically.... All people have a mythology," and black Americans need to "reconstruct our mythology." A myth "can be considered a form of reasoning and record-keeping by providing an implicit guide for bringing about the fulfillment of the truth it proclaims," argues Wade Nobles. Myths state "truth rather than fact."

To see the sort of truth radical Afrocentrists prefer to mere fact, consider the dramatic contrast between some of the central claims of Afrocentric scholars on the one hand, and mainstream scholars (black and white) on the other.

Afrocentrists argue that early Egypt was a Negroid culture, and that all human civilization thus derives from African culture. Two widely cited sources for this claim are Martin Bernal's *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Western Civilization*, and Chancellor Williams's *The Destruction of Black Civilization*. Williams writes that Egypt was "not only all-black, but the very name of Egypt (Kemet) was derived from the blacks."

In fact, African American scholar Frank Snowden says, Kemet has nothing

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to do with skin color: it refers to the "black land," that is, to the fertile soil watered by the Nile, in contrast to the red land of the desert. Similarly, archaeologist Kathryn Bard says it was conventional in Egyptian art to paint men in a dark-red ochre and women in a light-yellow ochre to distinguish them. This artistic convention is mistaken by Afrocentrists, who use it to claim that Egyptians were Negroid.

Egyptologists have known for a long time that ancient Egypt was a multiracial civilization. Anthropologist Frank Yurco argues that the ancient Egyptians, like their modern descendants, "varied in complexion from the light Mediterranean hue to the darker brown of upper Egypt, to the darkest shade around Aswan where, even today, the population shifts to Nubian." Egypt maintained cultural contacts both to the north and the south, and was a genuinely diverse society in which no importance was attached to race, Yurco adds.

Even before Egypt, Afrocentrists maintain, black Africans produced an extensive literature. "Africans themselves invented writing," insists Williams. Unfortunately, Williams says, virtually all evidence of this literary accomplishment is lost. Ancient African philosophy was likewise advanced, according to Afrocentrists. "It reads like if you're reading Jean-Paul Sartre or Heidegger or Kierkegaard," maintains author Ivan Van Sertima. "It is very complex."

Actually, there is no evidence for early African writing and literature, and Afrocentrists have produced no samples of ancient African theoretical reflection. Indeed Kwasi Wiredu, a leading contemporary African philosopher, writes that "the African philosopher has no choice but to conduct his philosophical inquiries in relation to the philosophical writings of other peoples, for his own ancestors left him no heritage of philosophical writings."

Afrocentrists claim that in addition to the architectural achievements of ancient Egypt, black Africans built other structures unrivaled in the ancient world. "Africans constructed a national system of reservoirs," remarks Williams, some of them "doubtless at sites not yet excavated." Moreover, they produced "magnificent stone and brick palaces, temples,

Even Judaism and Christianity are largely plagiarized from African blacks, according to Afrocentrists.

churches, cathedrals, wide avenues lined with palm trees, government buildings, public baths, water supply systems. The Arab scholars [who traveled through sub-Saharan Africa] were properly amazed at a way of life so superior to that of their own homeland."

In fact, the medieval Arab travel literature on southern Africa is highly mixed. It contains some respectful observations about the character of the people, but it reports none of the architectural wonders claimed by the Afrocentrists, and includes scornful references to many practices Arab writers found primitive. These references are edited out of Afrocentric literature.

Afrocentrists argue that the ancient Egyptian Negroes produced innumerable inventions and insights that are mistakenly attributed to the modern era. For example, the *African-American Baseline Essays* claims that black Egyptians developed electricity and built power-driven gliders some 4,000 years ago and "used their early planes for travel expeditions and recreation." Yet except for a few references to bird effigies that are mistaken for gliders, Afrocentrists have produced no evidence for these claims. Certainly they are irreconcilable with the technological backwardness of Africa as observed by Chinese, Arabs, and Europeans on a continuous basis since the late Middle Ages.

Afrocentrists claim that the Greeks stole most of their philosophy and medicine from Egypt. Wade Nobles writes in *African Psychology* that "Aristotle's doctrines of immortality, salvation of the soul, and the *summum bonum* are examples of the ancient African theory of salvation." Molefi Asante writes, "Of course Plato himself was taught in Africa by Seknoufis and Kounoufis," offering no evidence for the assertion. George James argues in his book *Stolen Legacy* that "all false praise of the Greeks must be removed from the textbooks of our schools and colleges," and students must undergo a "reeducation consisting of a thorough study of the ideas and arguments contained in my book."

Classical scholars such as Mary Lefkowitz and Frank Snowden have painstakingly investigated these claims and concluded, in Lefkowitz's words, that they are "one part fact, two parts speculation, and three parts outright falsehoods." Contrary to Afrocentric assertions, Lefkowitz maintains, there is no evidence that Socrates and Aristotle went to Egypt or studied there. "The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* is cited as a source for Aristotle," Lefkowitz says, "but the *Book of the Dead* is a set of ritual prescriptions about the soul's journey to the next world. It could hardly be further apart from Aristotle's philosophical discussions about human nature." Snowden notes that the Greeks enjoyed amicable relations with blacks but encountered them mainly as mercenaries and soldiers. "The time has come for Afrocentrists to cease mythologizing and falsifying the past," he urges.

Afrocentrists specifically charge that Greek and Roman armies burned down the library of Alexandria in an effort to appropriate African knowledge and prevent Africans from getting credit, but their accounts of the theft conflict. George James maintains that Alexander the Great looted the library in 333 B.C. and "carried off a booty of scientific, philosophic, and religious books." John Jackson, on the other hand, writes that the library was burned almost three centuries later, in 48 B.C., by invading Romans.

It turns out that both of these accounts are wrong. As Frank Snowden points out, "Most ancient sources suggest that Ptolemy II founded the library long after Aristotle's death in 322 B.C." There is no evidence Aristotle ever visited Egypt, Snowden adds, and even if the library were built earlier, it is unlikely that it would have contained much of a collection at that early date.

Afrocentrists argue that all other civilizations of the ancient world were either black or owe their achievements to the theft of African ideas. India and China are, in the Afrocentric model, indebted to black ingenuity. "The early inhabitants of India were black," writes John Jackson. "They have Negroid fea-

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tures, dark skin, and woolly hair." Indeed, those who built the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa civilizations in India were not Indians at all, he claims, but "Asiatic Ethiopians." Similarly, the great philosophy and art that emerged in China during the Shang dynasty really derives from black Africans. In *They Came Before Columbus*, Ivan Van Sertima argues that it was Africans, rather than Columbus, who discovered America. Scrutinizing artifacts of the Olmec civilization of ancient Mexico to find Negro features, Van Sertima argues that Africans using advanced navigational techniques migrated to produce the mathematical and architectural wonders wrongly attributed to the Mayas, Incas, and Aztecs.

No reputable Mesoamerican scholar agrees with these claims, and scholars who are familiar with the archeological evidence say that the Afrocentrists are entirely incompetent in the science of tracing the influence of one society on another. David Grove, an expert on Olmec civilization, says that Afrocentric claims for the black origin of Olmec culture are absurd, and that drawing significance out of the skin tones of Olmec figures is foolish because "the only stone available to them was black stone. The source of the stone is the Tuxtlas mountains, of volcanic origin." The response of experts to books like *They Came Before Columbus* is typified by the classical scholar whose *New York Times* review described the work as "ignorant rubbish" by an author whose knowledge of historical techniques is "abysmal."

Even Judaism and Christianity are largely plagiarized from African blacks, according to Afrocentrists, who add that Jesus Christ was a Negro. For example, Cain Hope Felder, editor of the *African Heritage Study Bible*, asserts that Christ was an "Afro-Asiatic Jew" who "probably looked like a typical Yemenite, Trinidadian, or African American of today."

The Bible makes no reference to Christ's skin color or racial features, but Jon Levenson, a leading biblical scholar, told the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that "the average Galilean was not black. I don't know of any Jewish groups that were black in the first century." New Testament scholar Robert Funk says that Jesus was probably "swarthy in complexion" like other Semites, but hardly black or Negroid. Asked by the *Washington Post* about Felder's theory, Funk sputtered, "That's just funny. I suppose we'll be claiming next that he was a woman. Or that he was native American. The possibilities are unlimited."

Afrocentrists even credit Africans with supernatural powers. *The African-American Baseline Essays* refers to "the extra-terrestrial origin of the Nile." The document also refers to the paranormal and mystical powers of the pyramids, treats Egyptian astrology as valid science, and credits Egyptian Negroes with expertise "as masters of psi, pre-cognition, psychokinesis, remote viewing, and other undeveloped human capabilities."

Bernard Ortiz De Montellano, an Hispanic anthropologist, argues that these Afrocentric claims are classic instances of "scientific illiteracy" that universities should resist being pressed to teach. "Minorities are already greatly under-represented in science and engineering," Montellano writes. "Teaching them pseudoscience will make it much more difficult for these young people to pursue scientific curricula."

THE TRAGEDY OF AFROCENTRISM FOR BLACKS IS THAT, IN THE NAME OF PROMOTING GROUP PRIDE, IT PROVIDES YOUNG PEOPLE WITH FALSEHOODS THAT UNDERCUT THE ACCUMULATION OF REAL KNOWLEDGE—AND THE ACHIEVEMENT AND SELF-RESPECT THAT REAL KNOWLEDGE BRINGS.

The tragedy of Afrocentrism for blacks is that, in the name of promoting group pride, it provides young people with falsehoods that undercut the accumulation of real knowledge—and the achievement and self-respect that real knowledge brings. Rather than preparing black students for the challenges of living in modern civilization, Anthony Appiah points out, Afrocentrists instead teach them languages that are hardly spoken anywhere and concepts that are "a composite of truth and error, insight and illusion, moral generosity and meanness."

Despite their interest in the ancient world, Afrocentrists appear to have missed one of the most important lessons we can learn from the ancients—the acknowledgment of civilizational differences combined with a refusal to reduce these to biological characteristics. "The ancient Egyptian lack of color prejudice should serve as a salutary lesson for us today," Frank Yurco says. "They would have considered this Afrocentric argument absurd, and this is something we could really learn from." Instead, Afrocentrists insist upon projecting their own racial nomenclature and obsession onto the ancients, invoking them to justify contemporary assertions of black militancy.

Afrocentrism is thus both pathetic and formidable. Pathetic because it offers young blacks nothing in the way of knowledge and skills that are required by modern life; formidable, because it offers them racial dynamite instead: a fortified chauvinism, a hardened conspiratorial mindset, and a robotic dedication to ideologies of blackness. The "revolutionary commitment" to which Molefi Asante refers is evident in the hardened gleam in many Afrocentric eyes. Afrocentrists exhibit a virtually cultic pattern of lockstep behavior: everyone dresses alike, and when the leader laughs, everyone laughs. Gradually but unmistakably, Afrocentrists are severing the bonds of empathy and understanding that are the basis for coexistence and cooperation in a multiracial society. Meanwhile, the real needs of blacks—and the hard work of meeting them—are being neglected.

Dinesh D'Souza is the John M. Olin fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. This essay is adapted from his new book, The End of Racism: Principles for a Multiracial Society, *just published by the Free Press.*

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Alternative Afrocentrisms

THREE PATHS NOT TAKEN—YET

"Mercy mercy me, things ain't what they used to be," purled the late soul singer Marvin Gaye. For African Americans this truth cuts both ways. Jim Crow is dead and the smiling black visages of Michael Jordan and Shaquille O'Neal adorn the walls of countless white boys and girls. But at the same time, a host of virulent social pathologies is devastating our cities. And the only strategy so far devised by black political leaders is one combining whiny importuning of outsiders with wishful mythologizing when among fellow blacks—a frantic attempt to build self-esteem even if it comes at the expense of truth, self-improvement, and interracial harmony.

It doesn't have to be this way. African Americans have an array of healthy and inspiriting traditions upon which to draw in the battle against despair and dependence. A full two generations ago, 1920s novelist Jessie Fauset brought to life characters who captured all of the contemporary dilemma. "It comes to every colored man," comments one of her protagonists, "when he thinks, 'I might just as well fall back; there's no use pushing on. A colored man just can't make any headway in this awful country.' Of course, it's a fallacy. And if a fellow sticks it out he finally gets past it, but not before it has worked considerable confusion in his life."

The forgotten Fauset is one of three African Americans profiled in the suite of essays that follows. The others are the famed educator Booker T. Washington and the novelist-folklorist Zora Neale Hurston. In very different ways, each embodies a tradition from which American blacks today might draw proud sustenance and strength, without resorting to historical distortions or group-against-group animosity.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARY THELEN

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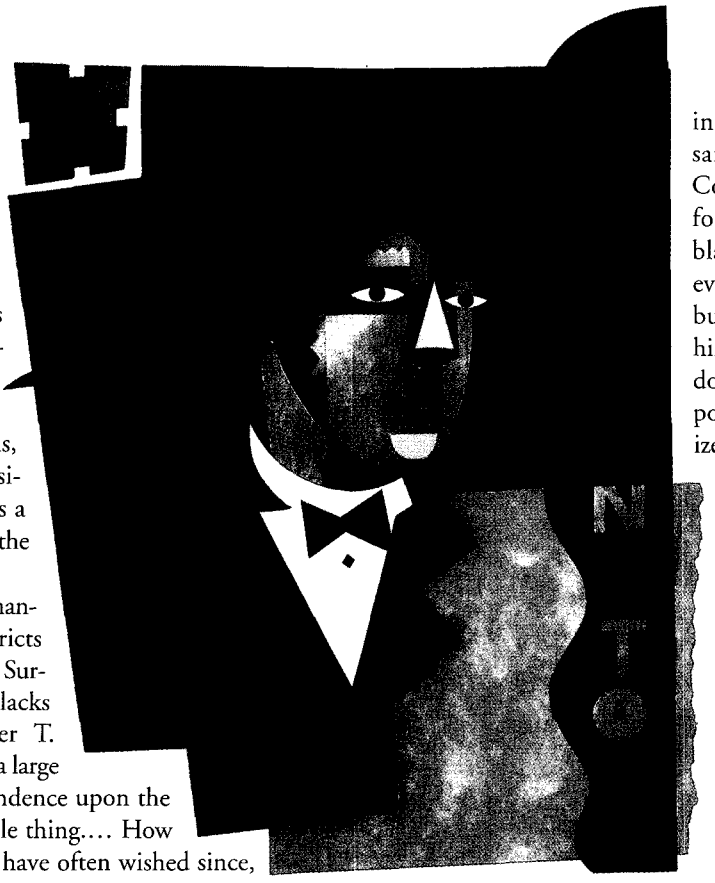

Of our trio, only the practical, gritty Washington offered himself as a political leader. The irrepressible Hurston, a libertarian Republican, was an enthusiastic supporter of Senator Robert A. Taft for her party's presidential nomination, however. Fauset preferred art to politics; a friend and ally of NAACP leader W. E. B. DuBois, she occupied an anomalous position within that organization as a kind of tony Washingtonian (of the Booker T. variety).

Welfare checks and gerrymandered black congressional districts were of no interest to this trinity. Surveying the state of Potomac blacks during Reconstruction, Booker T. Washington fretted that "among a large class there seemed to be a dependence upon the Government of every conceivable thing.... How many times I wished then, and have often wished since, that by some power of magic I might remove the great bulk of these people into the country districts and plant them upon the soil, upon the solid and never deceptive foundation of Mother Nature, where all nations and races that have ever succeeded have gotten their start." Whatever one thinks of a policy of mass rustication for black Americans (Tony Brown, in his provocative new book *Black Lies, White Lies*, continues to recommend it in 1995), the point is that neither Washington nor Hurston nor Fauset lack for boldness of vision or ambition.

The other thing they share is a common idea that African-American business, art, literature, and social institutions can prosper only through the efforts of their own race. This places the trio and their heirs outside the bounds of current polite debate. Washington, Hurston, and Fauset all disdained the enfeebling dependence on Great White Father State that current establishment liberals preach, but they would also scoff at the establishment conservative fantasy that a "colorblind society" is right around the corner—and perhaps even resist the desirability of such a society.

This doesn't imply anti-white animus; an emphasis on black enterprise, for instance, will actually lead to closer cooperation and understanding between the races. Booker T. Washington believed that the brickmaking program at Tuskegee Institute fostered racial harmony, for "in educating our students we were adding something to the wealth and comfort of the community. As the people of the neighborhood came to us to buy bricks, we got acquainted with them; they traded with us and we with them. Our business interests became intermingled. We had something which they wanted; they had something which we wanted. This, in a large measure, helped to lay the foundation for the pleasant relations that have continued to exist between us and the white people in that section."

This theme was taken up in the 1960s by Malcolm X, who said (in a sermon that Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas is fond of quoting): "The American black man should be focusing his every effort toward building his *own* businesses and decent homes for himself. As other ethnic groups have done, let the black people, wherever possible, however possible, patronize their own kind, and start in those ways to build up the black race's ability to do for itself. That's the only way the American black man is ever going to get respect."

This sentiment was distinctly unfashionable when Malcolm X uttered it, and Booker T. Washington's emphasis on self-help and mutual aid seemed positively anachronistic to the '60s civil-rights movement, with its single-minded pursuit of things political. In a 1987 profile by Juan Williams in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Clarence Thomas argued, "I don't see how the civil-rights people today can claim Malcolm X as one of their own. Where does he say black people should go begging the Labor Department for jobs? He was hell on integrationists. Where does he say you should sacrifice your institutions to be next to white people?"

Today, virtually no one except the odd Klansman defends state-mandated segregation. But state-mandated integration, the cornerstone of the last three decades of civil-rights law, is definitely under fire. And the failures of government programs erected under the aegis of "civil rights" are now manifest and massive: the relentlessly ugly and impersonal public housing projects in which the Negro proletariat is warehoused; the coercive experiments in busing and school integration that have waged war on working-class white neighborhoods while belittling black students (whose IQs will skyrocket, they are told, merely by rubbing shoulders with white urchins); the widely resented quotas that require corporate America to over-promote black professionals, irritating white professionals, while doing absolutely nothing for the kid on a Watts streetcorner.

Faced with this collapse of the 1960s program, many black Americans are suddenly casting about for alternative models and political allegiances. The new exemplars seem, at first glance, wildly incongruous—ranging from Malcolm X to Clarence Thomas to Louis Farrakhan to Colin Powell to Thomas Sowell to the Black Panthers. There are, however, a set of common beliefs among this group. Recall that Justice Thomas's two principal intellectual influences are Malcolm X and Sowell, and that he dallied with the Black Panthers in their early pre-violence phase, when they promoted neighborhood schooling and policing,

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community-funded lunches for kids, and the Second Amendment.

Quite apart from the lynch ropes placed around their necks by a livid civil rights establishment, there are other ties that bind black freethinkers today. Race pride, a fierce independence, a refusal to buy into the cheap sentimentalities that have debased our political currency: these are qualities shared by African-American iconoclasts of the 1990s. They are qualities found in Washington, Hurston, and Fauset too.

Such qualities explain seemingly inexplicable incidents like Zora Neale Hurston's denunciation of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision: "The whole matter revolves around the self-respect of my people. How much satisfaction can I get from a court order for somebody to associate with me who does not wish me near them?...I regard the ruling of the United States Supreme Court as insulting rather than honoring my race." Or as Clarence Thomas told *Reason* in 1987, "You don't need to sit next to a white person to learn how to read and write."

"If every member of the race should strive to make himself the most indispensable man in his community, and to be successful in business, however humble that business might be, he would contribute much towards smoothing the pathway of his own and future generations."

Black is Beautiful. So said the slogans of the pride movement; yet too few black children absorbed that truth in its fullness. Some made the leap only weakly, and landed short in the swamp called "Unblack is Ugly."

One thing Booker T. Washington, Zora Neale Hurston, and Jessie Fauset had in common was a humanity that allowed them to celebrate the world of blackness without vandalizing either historical fact or the self-regard of their non-black fellow citizens. A second shared trait was their view that one cannot love America unless one first loves one's very own bit of the mosaic: South Carolinian, Methodist, black, whatever. These are real insights, grown rare today, especially joined together in the same person. We might yet recreate that wise combination, however—if we will study the ideas of these distinctive African-American greats and some of their pre-1960s brethren.

—*The Editors*

Booker T. Washington

by Elizabeth Wright

Booker T. Washington might have expressed the same ideas in different terms, but he probably would have agreed with the major theme of Joel Kotkin's recent book, *Tribes*. Kotkin selects five of America's immigrant ethnic groups to demonstrate how each—Jews, Chinese, Japanese, British, and Indians—achieved economic health primarily due to a tradition of strong ethnic ties.

In each case, cultural identity acted as a positive force, inspiring the trust and mutual dependence that were the catalysts for phenomenal success in business. Members of these groups not only expanded the American economic pie, but went on to create their own peculiar niches. Each group became, as Kotkin puts it, "embedded in the American economy."

At the turn of this century, a very similar idea ruled Washington's vision of the role of blacks in America. It was his determination that his people should create for themselves, "through the struggle toward economic success," an indispensable place in the American economy. He spoke of blacks "knitting our business and industrial relations" to those of others, so that the contribution of blacks would become "essential to the welfare of the republic."

In 1900, at the founding convention of the National Negro Business League, there was good reason to hope that these aspirations would come to fruition. After all, the purpose of the league was to help black men and women who had already achieved success in business to become even more effective entrepreneurs.

"It is easily seen," wrote Washington, "that if every member of the race should strive to make himself the most indispensable man in his community, and to be successful in business, however humble that business might be, he would contribute much towards smoothing the pathway of his own and future generations."

As a keen observer of the behavior of other ethnic groups, Washington reflected on their mutual cooperation, which eased the path to business success. At one point, he cautioned blacks that if they did not find their place in the economic scheme of things, there were sure to be more immigrants coming to the shores of America who would eagerly fill the void.

With resources scarce among blacks, Washington stressed all the more the critical importance of group solidarity. Independence and self-sufficiency could best be achieved when blacks, working cooperatively, would "gain knowledge, experience, and wealth within our own ranks."

By the time of this first convention of the League, thousands of blacks had already demonstrated their capacity to seize opportunities. Many engaged in the skilled trades, since every type of craft had been learned by the slaves. Later, blacks took advantage of the fact that most crafts businesses could be started with little capital.

As noted in a 1950 study, *The Negro in American Business*, "The Negro in the South was not only proficient as a carpenter, blacksmith, shoemaker, barber, tailor, and cook, but as a result of almost two-and-a-half centuries of slavery, up to the outbreak of the Civil War, the knowledge of these skills was concentrated almost exclusively in the hands of the Negroes, free and slave."

By the late eighteenth century, blacks were an economic presence in several cities. In Philadelphia, which was regarded as the largest and most important center of free black life in the

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country, a 1798 report showed that almost 25 percent of the black families used their property for business. The city was renowned for its excellent restaurants and caterers—both fields monopolized by blacks.

Success stories were common also in southern cities like Richmond, Norfolk, Charleston, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. In Virginia, property ownership among free blacks doubled between 1830 and 1860, and in Tennessee, real estate owned by blacks tripled during the decade 1850–60. Before the end of slavery, Savannah had more free blacks and black businesses than any other municipality in Georgia, and there were many successful businesses in Macon. The wealthiest free black in Georgia was James Boisclair, who owned a popular saloon and the largest dry goods store in Dahlonega.

These blacks clearly understood the connection between the ownership of businesses and property and the ability to have greater control over what happened in their lives. Historian Juliet Walker points out: "In pre-Civil War America, even the absence of political freedom did not preclude the business participation of blacks as creative capitalists.... Antebellum blacks developed enterprises in virtually every area important to the pre-Civil War business community."

The very principle that protected property rights in general, including slave ownership, was what protected blacks' rights to own personal property. Walker writes, "It was the very sanctity of private property in American life and thought that allowed blacks, slave and free, to participate in the antebellum economy as entrepreneurs."

By the turn of the century, it was clear that a spirit of enterprise prevailed among large numbers of blacks. It was Washington's mission to find the methods to transmit this spirit to still greater numbers. He made an appeal to group identity, to the individual's responsibility to play his part in uplifting the race.

That it would take black helping black was a given. Self-help began with each person's willingness to commit himself to the discipline of work, no matter how modest the labor. Like others before and after him, Washington linked moral virtues to his "bootstraps" philosophy of self-help. The defining expression born in this period, that which exhorted blacks to live their lives so that each would become a "credit to the race," still rings in the latent memories of many.

Washington's teaching of capital development through work and thrift acknowledged the customs so characteristic of other economically successful groups. By emphasizing the importance of industriousness and sobriety he sought to link a homespun nationalism to a personal commitment to the ongoing improvement of the race.

If the legacy of slavery had its countless adverse consequences, then it was up to blacks to discover a positive legacy on which to capitalize and turn to their advantage. As a former slave, Washington was well acquainted with the humiliation of bondage, yet he had no patience with those who would replay the sins of the past. With all of its ambiguities, he still viewed America as a land of opportunity for blacks. He declared, "We should not permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities." Yes, it was possible for blacks themselves to retrieve from the years of degradation the means for economic and moral uplift, and to find, through their own effort, "compensations for the losses suffered."

Washington's rational, optimistic message was fully appreciated by a great many blacks of the time. In 1899, when William Pettiford became head of the black-owned Alabama Penny Loan & Savings in Birmingham, he was determined that the bank should be a tool of instruction for Birmingham's blacks. His goal was to educate ordinary people in the principles of saving and thrift, to impart the importance of sacrificing today to build for tomorrow.

After a successful advertising campaign to recruit new depositors, Pettiford discovered that about 90 percent of his new customers had never before held bank accounts. Regarding it his duty to encourage the wise use of money, he set about educating all who walked through his bank's doors in finance and investment, while providing loans and other services. Pettiford claimed that by encouraging blacks to save and make prudent investments, "it has been possible to stimulate a

Expectations, and role models, according to Booker T. Washington

It makes a great deal of difference in the life of a race, as it does in the life of an individual, whether the world expects much or little of that individual or that race. I suppose that all boys and girls born in poverty have felt at some time in their lives that the weight of the world was against them. What the people in their communities did not expect them to do, it was hard for them to convince themselves that they could do.

After I got so that I could read a little, I used to take a great deal of satisfaction in the lives of men who had risen by their own efforts from poverty to success. It is a great thing for a boy to be able to read books of that kind. It not only inspires him with desire to do something and make something of his life, but it teaches him that success depends upon his ability to do something useful, to perform some kind of service that the world wants.

— *"The Intellectuals and the Boston Mob" speech delivered in 1911*

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wholesome desire among our people to become property owners and substantial citizens."

Penny Savings became well known for granting loans for home building and business development. The bank was praised also for the role it played in keeping the money of blacks "constantly in circulation in our immediate community." Washington called the operation of Penny Loan & Savings the best illustration of "how closely the moral and spiritual interests of our people are interwoven with their material and economical welfare." He praised Pettiford because he was "far-seeing enough to attempt to develop this wealth that is latent in the Negro people."

Just as honorable were those blacks who used financial clout to combat racism. Washington celebrated Harlem realtor Philip Payton, who attained national attention when he and other black realtors bought two apartment buildings in order to prevent the eviction of black tenants by bigoted white landlords. A newspaper editorial cited Payton's actions as an "unexpected and novel method of resisting race prejudice."

Payton's sense of responsibility epitomized all that Washington sought to teach. By acquiring wealth as Payton had done, blacks could slap bigotry in the face, and be prepared to move confidently into the future when legal restrictions were at last lifted. Throughout the worst days of Jim Crow constraints, Booker T. Washington never doubted that efforts to win full legal rights would eventually succeed. He said, "It is important and right that all privileges of law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges." This is why he saw in a healthy business class the key to the future. He held business men and women to a high standard, since he believed they had a unique responsibility to the race. On their success depended the building of a sound economic foundation upon which everything else would rest.

To people like Washington, the businessman was the ultimate black role model. "It was evident," he wrote "that the success of Negro businessmen was largely dependent upon, and would tend to instill into the mass of the Negro people, habits of system and fidelity in the small details of life, and that these habits would bring with them feelings of self-reliance and self-respect, which are the basis of all real progress, moral or material."

In turning obstacles and difficulties to advantage, claimed Washington, "the Negro businessman has a peculiar opportunity for service, an opportunity that is offered to no other class among the members of the race." He wanted all blacks to take pride in the race's business people. In referring to the perseverance required by black entrepreneurs to overcome what often seemed like insurmountable obstacles, he once reflected, "I was never more proud than I am today that I am a Negro. I am proud and grateful to be identified with a race which has made such creditable progress in the face of discouragement and difficulty."

The business successes of blacks during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were achieved before severe Jim Crow restrictions went into effect in the South. But even after such biased laws were in place, great numbers of blacks continued to found firms, turning sections of some cities into what historian John Sibley Butler describes as "entrepreneurial enclaves." Serious damage was done to black economic development by laws that prevented the expansion of their businesses beyond the limited borders of segregated black neighborhoods. But even greater damage was caused by the later arrival of a black leadership whose teachings were vastly different from those of people like Washington, Pettiford, and Payton. Suddenly blacks were guided to view their problems as beyond their abilities to resolve; to look outward, especially to government, for solutions; and to see themselves as objects of sympathy.

Her black characters are often prosperous doctors, caterers, and modistes. There is a staidness, a steadiness about them, but they are no Oreos. They are securely colored and securely American.

Washington's greatest fears came true. By the time of the legal victories in the 1960s, the earlier spirit of enterprise had been depleted, and a new civil rights vision redefined black missions and goals. The call to group solidarity now became a strategy primarily to coerce benefits from whites, or "the system." Even self-help was redefined as an initiative first requiring the input of whites.

The moral force of earlier leaders, who had galvanized tens of thousands of individuals to work toward economic independence and self-reliance, ceased to carry influence. Booker T. Washington's call for blacks to make themselves economically indispensable faded into a distant echo. Is it not time to listen once more?

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Jessie Fauset

by Bill Kauffman

For never let the thought arise
That we are here on sufferance bare;
Outcasts, asylumed 'neath these skies,
And aliens without part or share.

This land is ours by right of birth,
This land is ours by right of toil;
We helped to turn its virgin earth,
Our sweat is in its fruitful soil.

—James Weldon Johnson
from "*Fifty Years 1863–1913*"

The notion that African Americans are here on sufferance bare never once crossed the mind of Jessie Fauset, whose novels depicted a robust Negro middle class that was much more than George Babbitt in blackface.

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Jessie Redmon Fauset was born in 1882 to a father who was a respected A.M.E. minister in Camden, New Jersey. The Fausets were on the fringe of stylish Old Philadelphia society; they were frayed gentility, polite and mannerly if occasionally behind on the grocery bill. ("There is no pride so strong, so inflexible, so complacent as the pride of the colored 'old Philadelphia'," wrote Fauset in *Comedy: American Style.*)

Hers was a close and loving family; she was raised, she later recalled, in a "very conservative, not to say very religious, household," and she grew up with a sense of the dignity of her race. Of course when the white world impinged young Jessie met the usual slights. At the Philadelphia High School for Girls "I happened to be the only colored girl in my classes...and I'll never forget the agony I endured on entrance day when the white girls with whom I had played and studied through the graded schools refused to acknowledge my greeting."

Upon graduation from Cornell, Jessie Fauset taught French for a dozen years at Washington, D.C.'s storied Dunbar High ("The Greatest Negro High School in the World"), named after the turn-of-the-century black American poet best remembered for his exclamation, "I know why the caged bird sings!"

Fauset chose W. E. B. DuBois as her mentor. He, in turn, recognized his protégé as a distaff member of the "talented tenth" whose efforts DuBois believed would uplift the race. We must, Jessie lectured the usually unlecturable DuBois, "teach our colored men and women *race* pride, *self*-pride, self-sufficiency (the right kind) and the necessity of living our lives, as nearly as possible, *absolutely,* instead of comparing them always with white standards."

Fauset wrote stories, reviews, and poetry for *The Crisis,* the NAACP flagship, before becoming full-time literary editor in October 1919. Though her own experiences of the richness of segregated black middle-class life kept her from swallowing whole the NAACP's integrationist panacea, she worked alongside the prickly DuBois for seven fruitful years. With sweetness and vigor she cultivated the flowering of Negro letters, for she shared in the delight expressed by her friend, the poet Countee Cullen: "Yet I do marvel at this curious thing: To make a poet black, and big him sing!"

Jessie Fauset disdained literary politics and petty jealousies. As a wise older brother counsels in her first novel, *There Is Confusion* (1924), "Our battle is a hard one and for a long time it will seem to be a losing one, but it will never really be that as long as we keep the power of being happy.... Happiness, love, contentment in our midst, make it possible for us to face those foes without. 'Happy Warriors,' that's the ideal for us."

Fauset practiced what she preached. Her little kindnesses and generous praise encouraged the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. She was, arguably, the discoverer of Langston Hughes, who was forever grateful. ("I found Jessie Fauset charming—a gracious, tan-brown lady, a little plump, with a fine smile and gentle eyes...From that moment on I was deceived in writers, because I thought they would all be good-looking and gracious like Miss Fauset.") Even the *rouge et noir* bad boy Claude McKay said of Fauset: "All the radicals liked her, although in her social viewpoint she was away over on the other side of the fence."

Few people, it seemed, wanted to hear about Jessie's side of the fence. *There Is Confusion* was rejected by one publisher because, she was told, "White readers just don't expect Negroes to be like this." Her black characters are often prosperous doctors, caterers, and modistes: the sort who have, rather than are, domestic help. There is a staidness, a steadiness about them, but they are no Oreos. They are securely colored and securely American.

Her four novels frequently feature light-skinned Negroes who "pass" for white in a burlesque of the integrationist dream. "Emotionally, as far as race was concerned, she was a girl without a country," Fauset mourned for one such woman in her final novel, *Comedy: American Style* (1933). "Later on in life it occurred to her that she had been deprived of her racial birthright and that that was as great a cause for tears as any indignity that might befall man." "What is fundamentally important to mankind everywhere," Fauset understood, is "love of kind, love of home...love of race."

Jessie Fauset's ardent hope was that colored boys and girls be raised in the fullest knowledge of their birthright. In *There Is Confusion* Joanna comes home from school and asks plaintively, "Didn't colored people ever do anything, Daddy?" Her father then tells her "of Douglass and Vesey and Turner. There were great women too, Harriet Tubman, Phyllis Wheatley, Sojourner Truth, women who had been slaves, he explained to her, but had won their way to fame and freedom through their own efforts." She abhorred sugarcoating and counseled truth: "The successful 'Negro' novel must limn Negro men and women as they really are, with not only their virtues but their faults," she averred.

It was for the Joannas of America that Fauset and DuBois edited *The Brownies' Book,* an unprofitable monthly published from January 1920 until it folded two years later. This wholesome hodgepodge of homilies, lore, and biography was dedicated, Fauset rhymed:

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To children, who with eager look
Scanned vainly library shelf, and nook,
For History or Song or Story
That told of Colored Peoples' glory.

The publication's purpose, declared the editors, was: "To make colored children realize that being 'colored' is a normal, beautiful thing. To make them familiar with the history and achievements of the Negro race. To make them know that other colored children have grown into beautiful, useful, and famous persons. To teach them delicately a code of honor and action in their relations with white children. To turn their little hurts and resentments into emulation, ambition, and love of their homes and companions. To point out the best amusements and joys and worthwhile things of life. To inspire them to prepare for definite occupations and duties with a broad spirit of sacrifice."

Hurston was suspicious of anyone, from Left or Right, who judged individuals by category. "The solace of easy generalization was taken from me, but I received the richer gift of individualism," she wrote.

Fauset devoted her career to acts of ancestor worship, of recovery and restoration. She translated Haitian poets. When her sister died she endowed a "Helen Lanning Corner" in the public school in which Mrs. Lanning had taught; this room was "to contain books only about colored people, especially colored children." She sponsored similar rooms in other schools. In 1932 Fauset insisted, "No part of Negro literature needs more building up than biography.... It is urgent that ambitious Negro youth be able to read of the achievements of their race....There should be some sort of *Plutarch's Lives* of the Negro race. Someday, perhaps, I shall get around to writing it."

She didn't. A marriage—a happy, companionable union—intervened, and the illness of various relatives brought out the nurse in Jessie Fauset. She published no books between 1933 and her death in 1961. Unlike Zora Neale Hurston, Jessie Fauset has enjoyed no spectacular revival—nor, given the unfashionableness of her resolutely middle-class colored American subjects, is she likely to.

Yet she speaks to us still. The better Afrocentric curricula are Helen Lanning Corners. Renewed appreciation of such distinct cultural achievements as baseball's Negro Leagues is very much in the Fauset stream. Every Ohio boy reading Langston Hughes is her son: every black girl who feels a confident, bitterless pride in her race and her country is a daughter of Jessie Fauset.

Associate Editor Bill Kauffman is the author of Every Man a King, Country Towns of New York, *and* America First!

Zora Neale Hurston

by David T. Beito

Zora Neale Hurston has been rediscovered. Her reputation shines much brighter today, in fact, than it ever did in her lifetime. A participant in the Harlem Renaissance as a folklorist and playwright, she became a best-selling novelist in the 1930s and 1940s. Less than two decades later, she died in obscurity and poverty. Her reputation languished until 1975 when Alice Walker, the author of *The Color Purple*, published a laudatory essay in *Ms.* Since then, Hurston has inspired a virtual cottage industry of books and articles. Her fiction has been embraced by assorted varieties of feminists, multiculturalists, and black nationalists. A kind of Zoramania has taken hold among the politically correct in particular.

Old Philadelphian Jessie Fauset on black roots

He started out as a slave but he rarely thinks of that. To himself he is a citizen of the United States whose ancestors came over not along with the emigrants in the Mayflower, it is true, but merely a little earlier in the good year 1619. His forbears are to him quite simply early settlers who played a pretty large part in making the land grow. He boasts no Association of the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, but he knows that as a matter of fact and quite inevitably his sons and daughters date their ancestry as far back as any. So quite as naturally as his white compatriots he speaks of his "old" Boston families, "old Philadelphians," "old Charlestonians." And he has wholesome respect for family and education and labor and the fruits of labor. He is still sufficiently conservative to lay a slightly greater stress on first two of these four.

Briefly he is a dark American who wears his joy and rue very much as does the white American. He may wear it with some differences but it is the same joy and the same rue.

— from *The Chinaberry Tree*, 1931

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There is no small amount of irony here. For Hurston subscribed to political views that would surprise many of her modern fans. She backed the Republican presidential primary bid of Robert Taft in 1952, condemned the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, and implied that Eleanor Roosevelt had cynically manipulated black voters. If Hurston could participate in today's political debates, she would no doubt be consigned to a netherworld populated by the likes of Walter Williams, Thomas Sowell, and Anne Wortham.

The environment of Hurston's youth nurtured attitudes of individualism and self-reliance. She grew up in the all-black town of Eatonville, Florida, where her father, a former sharecropper and son of a slave, once served as mayor. Eatonville was the setting for Hurston's most famous novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). With much justification, *Saturday Review* put it "in the same category—with that of the William Faulkner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway—of enduring American literature." Not all the reviews were positive. Novelist Richard Wright, then a member of the Communist party, condemned the novel's implicit message that the lives of blacks could be appreciated apart from a focus on racist and capitalistic oppression. Alain Locke, a leader in the Harlem Renaissance, wondered when Hurston would take up the more legitimate task of "social document fiction."

Permission, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Jessie Fauset, Langston Hughes, and Zora Neale Hurston at the Tuskegee Institute grave of Booker T. Washington during the summer of 1927.

Wright and Locke were right to be worried over Hurston's freethinking. While she never expressed a systematic political philosophy, Hurston's instincts, as reflected in her writings, were those of a libertarian. Her biographer, Robert E. Hemenway, has identified deep aversion to the then-fashionable model of "black pathology" as a major source for her views. Hurston found fault with the pathology model not only because it discounted the creative richness of black culture but because it gloried in victimization. It treated blacks as little more than cardboard cut-outs: "There is an over-simplification of the Negro. He is either pictured by the conservatives as happy, picking his banjo, or by the so-called liberals as low, miserable, and crying. The Negro's life is neither of these. Rather, it is in between, and above and below these pictures."

One of the most worrisome implications of the "black pathology" approach was that it gave social engineers an entree to "rescue" blacks from themselves. Hurston's comments on the role played by the welfare state in this process were prescient. Welfare, she charged, was "the biggest weapon ever placed in [the] hands of those who sought power and votes." It created a world that turned independent and prideful individuals into pawns of the "Little White Father" in Washington. "Once they had weakened that far," she concluded, "it was easy to go on and on voting for more relief, and leaving government affairs in the hands of a few."

Hurston was not a garden variety "black conservative," however. Her novels and nonfiction reveal what today would be called individualist feminism. Camille Paglia would have delighted her. In many ways, she resembled her contemporaries Rose Wilder Lane, Isabel Paterson, and Ayn Rand in personal and intellectual profile. All four women advanced an "Old Right" critique of the welfare state in the tradition of H. L. Mencken, Robert Taft, and Garet Garrett.

Hurston also shared an affinity with the isolationism of the Old Right. A now-restored chapter from the original manuscript of her autobiography *Dust Tracks on a Road* features a biting indictment of imperialism. She declared: "I do not mean to single out England as something strange and different in the world. We, too, have our Marines in China. We, too, consider machine gun bullets good laxatives for heathens who get constipated with toxic ideas of a country of their own." For Hurston, international big-power politics represented little more than a glorified scramble for "protection money."

Her individualism, however, unlike that of Lane, Rand, and Paterson, had to contend directly with the thorny question of race. Circumstances forced Hurston into an almost impossible dilemma. On the one hand, she deplored the imposed sorting of legal segregation. Hurston demanded "the complete repeal of all Jim Crow Laws in the United States once and for all, and right now." At the

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same time, she was not about to entrust New Deal liberals with the job. They were "racial cardsharps" who would use any pretext to fasten dependency on big government. Faced with limited alternatives, she proved willing to support segregationists, such as Senator Spessard Holland of Florida, as long as they opposed the common enemy of welfare-state liberalism. Hurston may have made wrong choices but she certainly was not any more "naive" than New Dealers who had once formed alliances with Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi and other vitriolic racists for the "greater good" of FDR's programs.

Hurston was suspicious of anyone, from Left or Right, who judged individuals by category. "I found," she asserted, "that I had no need of either class or race prejudice, those scourges of humanity. The solace of easy generalization was taken from me, but I received the richer gift of individualism.... So Race Pride and Race Consciousness seem to me to be not only fallacious, but a thing to be abhorred."

In 1955, Hurston returned to the limelight by opposing the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. She castigated the ruling as "forced association" and as an insult to black teachers who taught in segregated schools. "It is a contradiction in terms," she argued, "to scream race pride and equality while at the same time spurning Negro teachers and self-association." The narrow impact of the ruling, however, was not as important to her as the long-term implications for liberty. She feared that it was a "trial-balloon" that would be used as a precedent in a larger campaign to replace the Constitution with "government by administrative decree."

Neither assimilationist, nor accomodationist, nor nationalist, Hurston defies tidy categorization within black history. What distinguishes her is her ability to speak directly to the quest of individuals for freedom and self-reliance. This gives her writings a timeless quality, and a very broad appeal.

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Zora Neale Hurston describes the joy of blackness

But I am not tragically colored. There is no great sorrow damned up in my soul, nor lurking behind my eyes. I do not mind at all. I do not belong to the sobbing school of Negrohood who hold that nature somehow has given them a lowdown dirty deal and whose feelings are all hurt about it. Even in the helter-skelter skirmish that is my life, I have seen that the world is to the strong regardless of a little pigmentation more or less. No, I do not weep at the world—I am too busy sharpening my oyster knife.

Someone is always at my elbow reminding me that I am a granddaughter of slaves. It fails to register depression with me. Slavery is 60 years in the past. The operation was successful and the patient is doing well, thank you. The terrible struggle that made me an American out of a potential slave said "On the line!" The Reconstruction said "Get set!"; and the generation before said "Go!" I am off to a flying start and I must not halt in the stretch to look behind and weep. Slavery is the price I paid for civilization, and the choice was not with me. It is a bully adventure and worth all that have paid through my ancestors for it. No one on earth ever had a greater chance for glory. The world to bet on and nothing to be lost. It is thrilling to think—to know that for any act of mine, I shall get twice as much praise or twice as much blame. It is quite exciting to hold the center on the national stage, with spectators not knowing whether to laugh or to weep.

— from "How It Feels to Be Colored Me"

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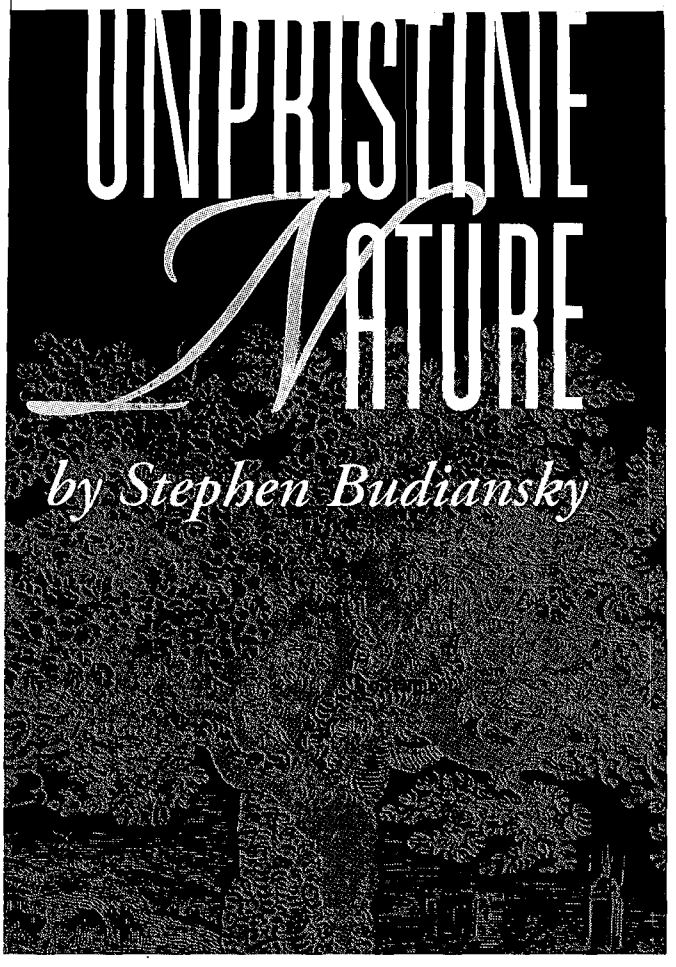
UNPRISTINE NATURE

by Stephen Budiansky



If I were setting out to write a conventional nature essay in the mode of Thoreau and his countless imitators, I should begin by describing the walk I took early this morning across field and wood. How I rejoiced in the cry of the Canada geese overhead and the flash of the white tail of a fleeting deer; how the crackling of the frosted grass beneath my feet as I crossed a hollow put me in mind of the family of wild turkeys I had seen there early in the fall; how every pore of my body was open to the sweet beneficence of Nature's society unfettered by the artifices of man.

Yet every one of those stirring sights of nature's timeless order was, in truth, nothing but the work of civilized man. The grasses in my field are aliens, timothy and bluegrass and red clover brought to America by seventeenth-century English settlers trying for a better hay crop. The sheep and horses and cattle in the field are alien imports too. But for their constant grazing, and for the annual visit of the haying machines, the open acres that stretch from my window to the copse at the bottom of the hill would in just a few years' time be choked with brambles and red cedars. But even that could hardly be counted a natural process; the return of woods to abandoned farm fields is not nature reclaiming her birthright but nature led only farther astray. Red cedars readily take over abandoned pastures today only because centuries of grazing by livestock has unnaturally suppressed the hardwoods, such as oaks, that would otherwise outcompete the red cedars; the very abundance of red cedar today is an artifact of the dietary preferences of imported farm animals.

The woods down the hill are second growth on land cut over at least once, probably several times, in the last 300 years. The Canada geese, which once migrated every spring and fall, now stay year round in great flocks, growing fat and lazy on farmers' corn fields. On local golf courses and parks their abundant droppings have become a health hazard. The deer and turkey meanwhile thrive in the artificial patchwork of forest openings formed of cultivated and abandoned fields. Wildlife biologists in Virginia estimate the state's deer population at 1 million, five times the number that existed here when Europeans first arrived.

If I set forth to look beyond my artificial view across my artificial fields to the artificial wood atop the Catoctin Mountains, I would find nothing but more fakery stretching in every direction. In Scotland, rare alpine birds nest on heather moors created and maintained by burning and sheep grazing. In the tropical rain forests of Central America, thousands of years of slashing and burning by corn-growing agriculturists have cut deep marks across lands that, in popular myth, are sacred monuments to biodiversity, the fragility of Spaceship Earth, and the seamless web of life (excepting only, of course, human life). After 10,000 years of breaking the soil, after 100,000 years of setting fire to the forests and the plains, after a million years of chasing game, human influence is woven through even what to our eyes are the most pristine landscapes.

Such observations cut against the fashion of our times. We prefer to think of nature as a setting for soul-stirring contemplation of the infinite and unknowable, a cathedral to be entered with hushed tones and reverent thoughts. The nature lovers of our age jealously cling to an image of nature virginal and pure; they imagine an Arcadian wilderness where balance and harmony reign, beyond the defiling touch of man. Open any popular nature book, magazine, tract, or fundraising letter, and you do not have to read far to find the phrase, "balance of nature," the notion that nature, left alone and freed from human influence, tends toward a state of harmony, balance, and beauty—and, conversely, that wherever man treads is trouble.

"The ecological perspective begins with a view of the whole, an understanding of how the various parts of nature interact in patterns that tend toward balance and persist over time," writes Vice President Al Gore in his book *Earth in the Balance*, whose very title invokes this notion. A mailing from the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental lobbying and litigation organization, reprints an interview with a Cree Indian, who is quoted as saying, "The earth

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was created in the way it was by the Creator, and changing it is unnatural and wrong." A series of educational videotapes for children that aims to promote "greater ecological awareness" offers such messages as "this ancient forest is capable of sustaining itself if not interfered with by humans" and "changes in nature upset the delicate balance for animals and man." In a book championing her new cause of saving the planet from environmental disaster, physician and former anti-nuclear crusader Helen Caldicott writes that "We must not disturb the hierarchical balance of nature and the food chain." These ideas have become such an accepted part of our culture that they are now the routine stuff of advertising and commerce, from $22 "All Things are Connected" t-shirts to a multi-million-dollar Disney movie featuring ecologically conscious lions who pontificate about the "circle of life."

Increasingly, such beliefs are defended by environmentalists on grounds that do not even pretend to be scientific. Even some quite mainstream environmental advocates mumble about vibrations or psychic connections or "deep" ecology. "It seems to me that a collective biological consciousness must exist," writes Farley Mowat, a prominent Canadian environmentalist and author of *Never Cry Wolf.* "It makes no sense to deny a psychic connection," insists Mowat (who at least makes room for female human presence in nature, with his endorsement of the "ecofeminist" idea that women "are biologically and spiritually connected to the cosmos, its planetary shifts, the earth's tides and the phases of the moon"). In *Earth in the Balance,* Al Gore also endorses some odd ecofeminist contentions, discussing a "religious heritage" built on a great earth goddess and marked by "reverence for the sacredness of the earth—and a belief in the need for harmony among all living things."

Mystical belief in a "natural balance" is also found in a growing number of statements to the effect that everything from the industrial accidents at Bhopal and Chernobyl to topsoil loss, deforestation, and extinctions are a result of the human race having fallen "out of balance," not only with nature but with our inner selves. "A crucial dimension of this imbalance in the West," writes author Matthew Fox, a theologian at the Institute in Culture and Creation Spirituality at Holy Name College in Oakland, California, "is the stunted growth of our mystical awareness and the underdevelopment of our mystical brain." This insight, he explains, came to him in a dream.

NATURE LOVERS LAUNCH EFFORTS TO "SAVE" FROM HUMAN DEPREDATION LANDSCAPES OR WILDLIFE POPULATIONS THAT ARE NOTHING BUT THE RECENT AND UNNATURAL CREATIONS OF MAN'S PRESENCE.

The vision of nature as a primitive wilderness shaped only by forces beyond man's ken underlies countless official policies, and is rarely questioned. Federal wilderness areas in the United States are defined, by law, to be places "where the earth and community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." The official management goal for America's national parks is the re-creation of the landscape that supposedly existed before 1492, and current park policy holds that the means to achieve this is the exclusion of all human influence.

Excluding man has become an end in itself today. What many nature lovers want, after all, is solitude; the active intrusions that it would take to purge the land of alien grasses and weeds with tractors and herbicides, or restore the oak savannas with bulldozers and fires and chain saws, or bring back the aspen and beavers of Yellowstone with rifles leveled at the park's elk, is not part of the program they have in mind for their "wilderness" experience. "Space enough to separate you from the buzz, bang, screech, ring, yammer, and roar of the 24-hour commercial you wish hard your life would not be...Wilderness that is a beautiful piece of world, a place where you can be serene, that will let you contemplate and connect two consecutive thoughts, or that if need be can stir you up as you were made to be stirred up, until you blend with wind and water and earth you almost forgot where you came from." Thus spake David Brower, the eminent conservationist who once headed the Sierra Club and the Friends of the Earth. Time and again, nature lovers launch earnest efforts to "save" from human depredation landscapes or wildlife populations that are nothing but the recent and unnatural creations of man's presence, while they rail against the very kinds of "interference" that have for millennia shaped and perpetuated the nature they love.

When Ontario's Rondeau Provincial Park was established on the north shore of Lake Erie in 1894, no deer were observed within its 8,000 acres. The park is the largest remaining example of Carolinian forest in Canada today, and home to the largest breeding population of prothonatory warblers in the country. The park is also one of only two remaining habitats of the nodding pogonia, a rare orchid.

In 1899, five captive deer escaped from an enclosure in the park. Their numbers quickly multiplied. For many years rangers kept the deer in check by shooting them, but the culling program finally

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ended in 1973 after park authorities grew weary of constantly defending themselves against protests by animal rightists.

Since then, the deer population has risen to about 500. The deer have browsed clearings hundreds of yards across, virtually stripping the forest floor bare of new seedlings of white pine, red oak, black cherry, and shagbark hickory, bringing regeneration of the forest to a halt. A new plan to cull the deer herd to about 100 animals, the maximum number that a study concluded could be sustained without damaging the park's vegetation, has met with the inevitable and vigorous objections of the Committee to Save the Rondeau Deer.

It is assuredly "unnatural" for park rangers to shoot hundreds of deer. But what, biologists who have studied the situation ask, is there left that is "natural" about Rondeau? It is unnatural for deer even to live on this patch of land. It is unnatural for 8,000 acres of wood to be totally surrounded by land intensively managed for agriculture. It is unnatural for wolf populations to have declined; for Indian hunters to have moved off and changed their way of life; for fires to have been fought; for exotic plants to have invaded. The saviors of the deer ignore a century of passive assaults and focus only on the active assault of rifle-toting men. "Land is managed with tremendous intensity and devotion around the park, and naively we believe we can just leave [Rondeau] alone," said one biologist who has studied the Rondeau deer. "The park is too small, too different, too isolated not to be managed."

The explosion of deer populations has been a worldwide phenomenon for the last half-century; so too has been the slow death of even the largest parks and forests as a result of management policies based on the ideal of noninterference. A 10-year study of the forests of Pennsylvania established a clear link between the increase in deer and the resultant loss of songbirds, woodland wildflowers, and overall biotic diversity. As deer increase from 10 per square mile to 64 per square mile, underbrush is stripped bare, nesting sites vanish, and the number of species of songbirds in the wood drops from 18 to 12. In Yellowstone, where elk populations have quadrupled since the park adopted a "natural regulation" policy in 1969, signs of overbrowsing are everywhere in evidence too. One of the few places in the park where the aspens and willows are doing well is a plot just south of Mammoth that is ringed with a fence to keep the elk out.

Moreover, plant and animal populations are inherently unstable. Catastrophes are always occurring in nature, from a cold spring day that kills a fledgling robin to a glaciation that wipes out species. Small, isolated populations—such as are likely to be found in protected parks and reserves—are all the more susceptible to such vicissitudes of nature. A flood, a fire, a hurricane, a blight, a decade of cold winters can alter an area the size of New England for a millennium or more. When the hemlocks of New England were attacked by a fungus or insect pest 5,000 years ago, the ensuing, massive dieback persisted for 2,000 years. These are not just turns about the never-ending "natural cycles" of self-regulating nature. They are history events that affect the course of all that follows.

TO LITERALLY LET NATURE "TAKE HER COURSE" IS NOT ONE OF THE OPTIONS ANY LONGER. THE IRONY IS THAT TO HAVE NATURE BE "NATURAL" REQUIRES CONSTANT HUMAN INTRUSION.

The story of Isle Royale, Michigan, has often been told by nature lovers eager for scientific affirmation of natural balance. The island had been overrun with moose from the turn of the century until the cold winter of 1949 froze Lake Superior and wolves from the mainland trekked across the ice. From that point on, the story goes, the populations of predator and prey have tracked one another like two swinging pendulums joined together by a spring. Wolf numbers grow, moose fall; wolves fall and moose grow; and so on *ad infinitum.* Each population traces a perfect sine wave through time.

However, since the early 1980s the moose population on Isle Royale has once again grown unchecked while wolf numbers plunged rapidly toward zero, a consequence, at least in part, of the wolves' extremely narrow genetic base: DNA studies have shown that all of the island's wolves were descended from a single female. Wildlife biologists believe that extinction of the wolves is now all but certain.

The many other isolated patches that constitute our parks and nature reserves have proved equally vulnerable to nature's vicissitudes. A lone surviving 20-acre tract of primeval hardwood forest on Mt. Pisgah, New Hampshire, was donated to Harvard University in 1927 for preservation and study; 11 years later it was leveled by a hurricane, and so went the last stand of "virgin" forest in New England. A 42-acre forest of towering white pines in Cornwall, Connecticut was similarly reduced to a heap of fallen timber by a hurricane in 1989. The 200-year-old trees, known as the Cathedral Pines, had stood 150 feet tall. After the storm, the Nature Conservancy, which had been given the forest in 1967 under the condition that the land be maintained in "a natural state," promptly issued a press release explaining that the hurricane "was just another link in the continuous chain of events that is responsible for shaping and changing this forest," and announcing that it planned to allow the forest to

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continue to take its "natural course." With the single exception of agreeing to clear a 50-foot-wide firebreak around the perimeter, that is in fact what the managers have done.

Yet the Cathedral Pines' majestic stand was a pure artifact: not virgin forest at all, but second growth that sprung up on land cleared of hardwoods and then probably farmed for a time in the late eighteenth century by colonists. White pine stands were rare in New England before farmers began clearing fields: at the time the trees of the Cathedral Pines were seedlings, sprouting, most likely, in the grass of an abandoned cow pasture, Yale president Timothy Dwight wrote that all the pine woods of New England could fit into a single county.

So the "continuous chain" of events that had made the Cathedral Pines an object of admiration and the impassioned focus of more than a century of efforts to protect and preserve it were from the start artificial. Yet when a number of local officials and admirers suggested it might make sense to clear the fallen timbers and perhaps even replant the wood, environmental purists condemned the proponents for the crime of "anthropocentrism." One scientist at the Yale School of Forestry told reporters, "If you are going to clean it up, you might as well put condos on it." But why? Cleaning it up would have been no worse an ecological sin than its very existence in the first place.

Scientists at the California Department of Parks and Recreation once advocated ripping out the eucalyptus trees from the state's public parks on the grounds that they are exotic, non-native species. Opponents screamed. They liked the big trees. So, it turned out, did the butterflies and birds; 57 percent of the bird species in Angel Island State Park were found to frequent the eucalyptus groves, and 8 percent were found exclusively there. The western population of the monarch butterfly seems particularly partial to the trees, probably because they provide both shelter and food (in the form of nectar from the trees' flowers). Researchers who surveyed sites in coastal California where the butterflies winter found that 75 percent of the 112 sites contained eucalyptus trees. The other sites contained mainly native conifers, but even these native stands were not "natural"—the trees had been planted by humans outside of their natural range.

Of course monarch butterflies did once manage to get along without trees imported from Australia, but what matters now is what will happen if those trees are removed. As scientist Walter Westman noted, it is not as if a mature forest of 50- to 100-year-old trees can be quickly replaced with native species of the same size. Even if the eucalyptus trees were removed, the return to the presumed "natural" state of vegetation at the parks is by no means assured. Of the 416 plant species identified on Angel Island, 53 are non-native. Maintaining the natural order is at the very minimum a full-time weeding job.

The invasion of exotic plants and animals is comparatively well known; America's environmental purists have learned to take no pleasure in the sweet smell of honeysuckle, they remark disapprovingly of English sparrows, and kudzu, the catastrophically lush vine imported to control erosion on hillsides that has now taken over vast stretches of the South, is a national joke. Less well known is the sweeping effect that the artificial suppression of fire has had on the landscape. In the American Midwest, suppression of fire has let pines and oaks form dense stands on what were once open savannas. Where, in the mid-nineteenth century, as few as four trees per acre stood amid prairies of tall grasses and forbs, a hundred years later stand dense forests with unbroken canopies. To literally let nature "take her course" is not one of the options any longer. The irony is that to have nature be "natural" requires constant human intrusion. Restoration projects have been remarkably successful in reconstructing and maintaining native savannas and prairies through the use of clearcutting followed by regular, deliberate burning. The artificial turns out to be more "natural" than the natural.

No matter what we choose to do, nature is being shaped by man. We can recognize the fact and try to deal with it, or we can ignore it and accept the consequences. The one thing we cannot do is remove human influence simply by closing our eyes to it.

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Managing Nature in South Africa

by Duane Chapman

In 1903, the newly created Kruger National Park in South Africa held little wildlife. There were no elephant nor white rhino. Careful tracking counted one black rhino, five each of hippo and giraffe, and nine lions. Herds of zebra, buffalo, and antelope had been decimated by hunting before and during the Anglo-Boer War, but very likely disease and cyclical drought had prevented this "lowveld" from ever attaining stable, high levels of animal life.

Today, a century of careful human oversight has transformed the 5 million acres of the Kruger National Park, plus the half-million additional acres of private game reserves on the park's western edge, into a dramatic biological success. The table nearby documents the enormity of the achievements in wildlife restoration that have turned Kruger into an African equivalent of America's Yosemite Valley.

The contemporary reality of wilderness preservation is plain in Kruger: Wilderness must be managed in order to be protected. Single-minded, disciplined, scientific effort has provided the South Africans their achievements. Kruger's managers have run a large research program with 150 different projects covering everything from tsetse fly and malaria control to cheetah demographics, elephant ecology, and water and air pollution. They have used fences to separate animals from people. Wells and windmill pumps now create ponds and lakes, providing substitute water sources for absent rivers. Habitat, food, and pre-

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dation are all strongly influenced by human actions.

The modern goal is biodiversity, and the rescuing from extinction of as much as possible of the region's original plant and animal life. At present, all of the endangered large carnivores and grazers common to Southern Africa are present in Kruger in stable populations. The list is impressive: cheetah, leopard, honey badger, antwolf, brown hyena, elephant, crocodile, and black and white rhinos. Large mammals not currently endangered are also present at healthy population levels: hippo, lion, buffalo, zebra, wildebeest, and several kinds of antelope. The biological ecosystem—grass, trees, and water—is managed to provide a nearly natural environment for these animals.

The result is that the park has more wildlife species than any other reserve in Africa. These include 200 tree species, another 180 shrubby trees, and 1,600 species of grass and bush. The wildlife includes 150 kinds of mammals, 500 bird species, and more than 100 types of reptiles. The number of insect species is uncounted: there may be 2000 different species of dung-eating beetles alone.

Accepting the goal of ecodiversity sometimes raises unpleasant choices. For example, in dry years unrestricted elephant populations would exterminate the park's spectacular prehistoric baobab trees. This unique tree grows like a sponge in wet years, and holds moisture in dry years. The oldest specimens exceed 2,000 years in age.

The normal result of good rainy seasons in this part of Africa is to accelerate animal population growth, while subsequent droughts wreak catastrophic loss. These extreme fluctuations result in painful suffering from starvation and thirst in bad years. The park's approach to this dilemma has been culling, a polite word for removal of creatures with consequent processing in meat-packing operations.

In good years with high rainfall and little disease, the park's elephant population goal is 7,000–7,500. This means each elephant has an average of 600 acres, and on this 600 acres there will also be an average of 4 buffalo, 18 impala, 4 zebra, 2 wildebeest, and lesser numbers of other wild animals. African elephants can reach 14 feet in height and 7 tons in weight. Apart from humans, adult elephants have no enemies. Lions, crocodiles, rhino, and all other animals do not dispute water or grazing rights with adult elephants.

The major management tool for stabilizing elephant population levels in Kruger is culling. This has two forms. Capture and transfer moves elephants (or rhinos, or other animals) to new locations in Africa and throughout the world. The commoner form of culling is elimination.

The most serious threat to the African elephant is poaching. An adult male may carry two ivory tusks worth $2,000 at the park boundary. By the time the ivory has been shipped illegally to Asia its value is $40,000. In Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, or Mozambique, no adult animal is safe; tusks are being removed from drugged elephants by park staff to reduce the odds of death by poaching.

In Kruger Park, in contrast, there are still numerous adult males with large tusks. The major reason is military-type discipline in dealing with poachers, coordinated jointly by the South African Defense Force and the Park Ranger staff using helicopters. Poaching usually takes less than 20 elephants and 5 rhinos each year in Kruger, a real accomplishment.

My friend John Paulsen, a white Afrikaner with a Ph.D. in economics who now works for the ANC, believes that hunting in Kruger should be studied. His focus is on the trophy fees. In Tanzania these average from $4,000 for an elephant to $600 for a buffalo. Total fees paid to the Tanzanian government exceeded $12,000 for each hunter in 1991.

One serious obstacle to the introduction of hunting in the Kruger is the interaction between hunting, animal life, and tourism. Today, the Kruger mammals do not associate vehicles with hostile intent. A car, even an open vehicle, can approach a relaxed lion or elephant as close as 30 yards before irritating the animal. Antelope and baboons are equally accustomed to tourist visitors. This accommodation of tourist and animal is possible now because hunting is absent within the park.

Wildlife in Kruger National Park in 1903 and 1993

	1903	1993
Elephant	0	7,300
Black Rhino	1	220
White Rhino	'exterminated'	1,400
Hippo	5	2,700
Giraffe	5	5,700
Buffalo	8	28,000
Eland	'exterminated'	850
Roan	'exterminated'	420
Tsessebe	'exterminated'	1,200
Wildebeest	50	13,500
Kudu	35	10,500
Ostrich	'exterminated'	some
Zebra	40	31,000
Impala	9,000	130,000
Lions	9	2,300
Leopard	'numerous'	900
Cheetah	'very scarce'	250
Crocodiles	'swarming'	'several thousand'

Source: Data abstracted by author.

The coexistence of wildlife and tourism could be terminated, however, if hunting is initiated. The Kruger animals could not differentiate vehicles, planes, and people-on-foot according to whether they were hunters, scientists, or tourists. Smaller hunted animals would learn to avoid all humans, including tourists. The larger creatures would likewise become quick to flee, but also might learn to retaliate against humans without guns.

In 1993, 10 people were killed in South African game reserves. Three were trampled by elephants, six were killed by lions. The chief anti-poaching ranger in the Kruger was killed by an elephant a few days before I would have met with him. In several of these cases, the animals had been trapped and relocated. In the Kruger ranger case, the probability is high that the attacking elephant had been part of a clan that had been culled or poached. This suggests to me that Kruger tourism and Kruger trophy hunting might be incompatible.

A common unpublished estimate of the black population in the Transvaal bordering the park is 1 to 2 million, and they are dirt poor, with a per capita income of only a few hundred dollars a year. The potential pasture on the east side of the Kruger boundary fence understandably looks attractive to individuals who graze ani-

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mals in dust and rocks on the other side. The ANC's position is that cattle ranching on the Kruger lands merits investigation, particularly for the 525,000 acres of privately owned game reserves within the Kruger ecosystem.

However, cattle ranching in the area has no economic future. These lowveld regions were abandoned by white ranchers because they have little rainfall, poor soil, and considerable disease. In this region the average large grazing animal requires from 35 to 100 acres. In contrast, the best pasture in the United States can support one animal per acre. It is safe to predict that in any sections of the Kruger opened to communal cattle ranching the land would degrade until it matched the land now on the west side of the fence. And the people involved would be bound to a life of eternal poverty.

A somewhat more economically promising alternative is potential sale of buffalo carcasses. Culling 3,000 buffalo annually for meat (an equivalent number are likely taken by predators) would permit a constant buffalo population of 25,000–35,000 in the park, the current level. Sales would be about $2 million annually.

There are two ways that Kruger could quickly make an economic contribution to its region. First, the park could raise its fees to foreign visitors and distribute this revenue within the region for public sector investment in schools, health care, and roads. Twenty-five percent of Kruger tourists come from outside of Africa: Europe, Japan, Australia. The typical trip costs the visitor about $2,000. But the Park admission fee is only $50 for each visitor, and this includes accommodations and meals. Increased entrance fees for foreign visitors could easily add $20 million to the park's revenue, without reducing visitor levels.

While making a large increase in the park's revenue, this would add only 3 percent to the total cost of the average visitor's trip. It seems clear that higher fees can make more money for the region than cattle or buffalo ranching, and, unlike cattle, are not destructive to the park. Increasingly, ecotourism is seen as a possible engine of clean and green economic growth for South Africa.

Managing Nature in the Future

by Frederick Turner

We will not, despite our postmodern fantasies, be living in some metallic or concrete or crystalline techno-desert; our future will no doubt respond fully to our need for the forms of geology, vegetation, and the animal kingdom. We will live among trees and rocks and clouds and grasses, as we have always done; our technology will have vanished into the background, to be recalled, like magic, by a mental command. Landscape architecture and ecological restoration will come together into a super-art whose palette will be species evolution and ecological interdependence.

But there will be no "going back to nature." The nature we would go back to never existed, in the sense of the unspoiled, uninterfered-with, harmoniously balanced wilderness. The wild is ourselves. Indeed, the whole universe will become our garden—and if that is a claustrophobic thought, consider the deep wildness of the English countryside, with its layers of history, its ghosts, the visionary and mystical qualities that William Blake and William Wordsworth and Thomas Hardy and Samuel Palmer and John Constable celebrated in it. Reflect that all England is a garden, a human-made landscape. It is up to us to make our gardens wilder than any "virgin" forest.

We will, I believe, continue our intervention in the physical universe with an increasingly sophisticated and organic array of sensors and effecters. We will come to know and experience the rest of nature more and more intimately, from the inside, and will be able to move and change it in the same way that we move and change our bodies—and with the same mixture of resistance, learning, shame, pain, fatigue, and pleasure....

When we look down on the landscape by plane, we will see that much of the land has returned to meadow, swamp, forest, prairie; we will see flocks of thousands of birds, herds of deer and elk; and among the hills the occasional settlements of people who have chosen, permanently or temporarily, to explore as the Amish do the life of traditional technology, religion, and village economy. There will be a large increase in "wild" nature, unobtrusively managed. The Appalachians are already going back to hardwood forest; the bears and the wolves are coming back; and this is happening all over the developed world. Scotland, for instance, is now closer to its "aboriginal" state than at any time in the last 400 years.

Although the old city centers will be increasingly limited to pedestrians, cheap, pollution-less, hydrogen-powered cars traveling on subway roads, partly automated, and with neural/cybernetic control, will continue the tradition of individual choice. Personal mobility will always be crucial to human freedom, as crucial as the vote. Perhaps the bicycle will become even more important than it is now. The cities will, I believe, survive the revolution in communications that has made them technologically obsolete. They will do so by developing a sense of themselves as unique centers of human communion, philosophical exploration, collective art and worship—the vision expressed in medieval cathedrals or in Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece. Gardening will become one of the chief urban occupations. In Europe very heavy urban population densities have proved to be quite compatible with delightfully quiet, green, and pleasant residential districts. Indeed, without feeling so, the cities may well be more populous than in the past, especially if we can solve the problem of inner-city decay.

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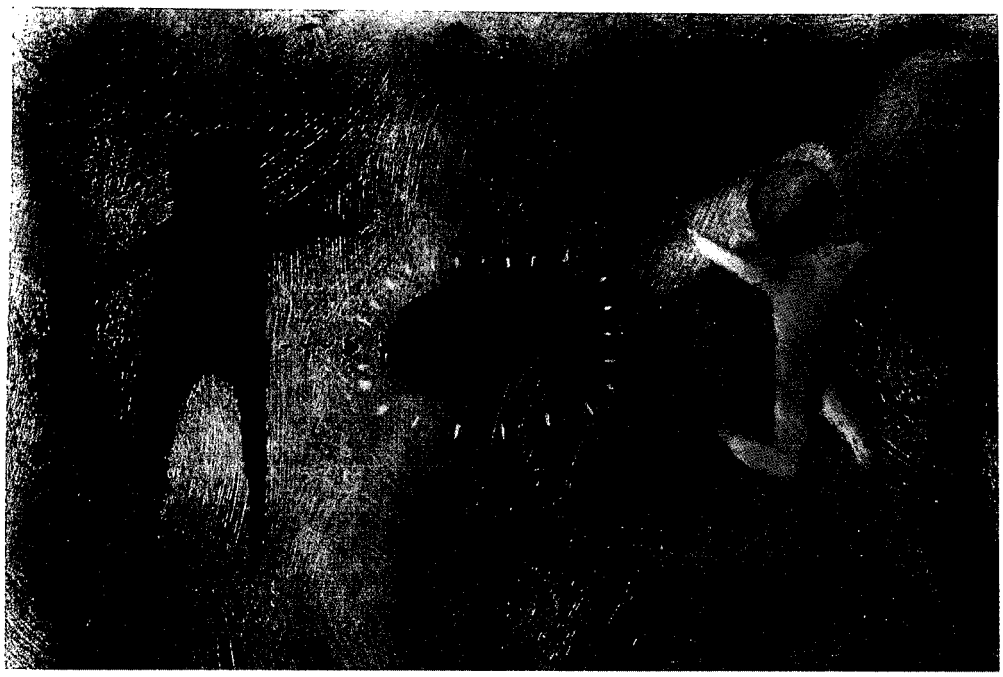

BY
LAURENS VAN DER POST

THE PRISONERS AND THE BOMB

I had forgotten the date until the moment I walked into that television studio at about six o'clock in the evening on Wednesday, August 6th.

I was a British guest on an American current affairs program, due to be interviewed about Africa, and all day long my mind had been trying to concern itself with my native continent. That subject normally comes to me very easily, but on this occasion there was an unusual resistance in my mind. The meaning of this resistance only became clear when I arrived in the studio and saw the man who was already in the process of being interviewed on the same program for the 10 minutes before I myself would appear. He was a Japanese who I guessed to be about 70 years of age, with close-cropped grey hair. He was small even among his countrymen, and his smallness was emphasized by the contrast with the tall, robust young American who was interviewing him.

I do not know which was greater: the violence of the eruption that followed within me, or the feeling of personal dismay that accompanied it. How could I have forgotten until then the special meaning of August 6? If *I* could forget, how could anybody else be expected to remember that day as I had known it? It was, of course, the anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and the young American was extracting from the little old Japanese gentleman, with skill and delicacy, his experience on that great and terrible day.

He was, the guest said, a doctor. He was at work in his surgery and his wife was in the Japanese equivalent of a drawing room, sitting at her harmonium. He could hear her playing a Christian hymn. She had not been there long when the bomb fell. She and his four children in other parts of their house were killed instantly; he, miraculously, was spared.

As I stood there caught between the turmoil of my own associations with that day and the horror of Hiroshima, it suddenly seemed to me that the imagination of our time, particularly the imagination of the young who have been born since Hiroshima, knew only part of this story. As a result, we accept, like this American interviewer (who could have been no more than five at the time of the bombing) that this tragic Japanese version is an authentic microcosm of the whole truth.

I have been amazed to observe how many of my Japanese friends do not seem to feel that their nation did anything to provoke what was inflicted on them at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I am also amazed at how incurious they are about their own part in the war. And in the Allied nations too, more and more people view the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki out of context. They increasingly tend to see the bombings as an act of history in which those who dropped the bomb were the villains. I feel it is extremely important for both the Japanese and those of us in the West to maintain a whole view of this cataclysmic event.

This all suddenly seemed of such overwhelming importance to me that, right there in the middle of a television studio, I was compelled to immediate action. The producer of the television program had all the while been standing silent at my side

Illustration by James Genus Jr.

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just off the set, caught up in the horror of the story, as was everyone else from cameraman to interviewer. I took him by the arm and drew him with me out of the studio. He followed like someone coming out of a trance.

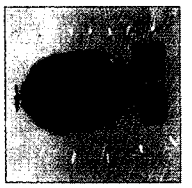
I closed the door silently behind us and begged him to forget about Africa. I told him that I too had been involved in the tragedy of Hiroshima. No, I had not been in Hiroshima itself—I had been thousands of miles away in Java. But what had happened to me in Java was as much a part of the story of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as what happened to the people in the doomed cities themselves.

Like all planners, the television producer hated any change of direction. But we had worked together before, and in the end he was won over by my argument that it would be wrong to let only this one Japanese voice, authentic as it was, speak for the day. He agreed to allow me, at the end of the prescribed time period, to take over for his interviewer and put to the little Japanese doctor my version of the story.

So it happened that when the official interview ended, the voice of the producer announced a change of plan, saying that instead of speaking on Africa, I, who had been a Japanese prisoner of war for three-and-a-half years, would have a discussion about Hiroshima with the Japanese doctor.

I began in Japanese, not only to reassure him but as the only means available to me of showing him how involved I felt with him and his people in what had happened that day. I went on in English to tell him my part of the story. The following is what I said to him.

I HAVE BEEN AMAZED TO OBSERVE HOW MANY OF MY JAPANESE FRIENDS DO NOT SEEM TO FEEL THAT THEIR NATION DID ANYTHING TO PROVOKE WHAT WAS INFLICTED ON THEM AT HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI.



I began by trying to describe to the Japanese doctor what life had been like in a Japanese prisoner of war camp, because he confessed that even after all this time he personally had taken no interest in the matter and had read no literature about it. I tried to keep my description as factual as possible, and to keep my own emotions out of it. I barely mentioned the physical brutalities we had experienced at the hands of our Japanese guards. I skimmed over the grimmest of my own experiences. For instance, I said little of how I had been made to watch Japanese soldiers having bayonet practice on live prisoners of war tied between bamboo posts; of how I had been taken to witness executions of persons of all races and nationalities for obscure reasons like "showing a spirit of willfulness" or not bowing with sufficient alacrity in the direction of the rising sun. I had never known there could be so many different ways of killing people—cutting off their heads with swords, bayonetting them in many variations, strangling them, burying them alive. But, significantly, never by just shooting them.

I say "significantly" because the omission of this contemporary form of killing was for me striking evidence of the remote and archaic nature of the forces that had invaded the Japanese spirit. Awareness of this dark invasion actually made it impossible for those of us who were prisoners to have personal feelings against our captors. Even at our worst moments of torment, we generally viewed the Japanese as puppets of such immense impersonal forces that they did not really know what they were doing.

It was amazing how often men would confess to me, after some Japanese excess worse than usual, that for the first time in their lives they had realized the truth, and the dynamic liberating power, of the first of the Crucifixion utterances: "Forgive them, for they know not what they do." I found that the moment one grasped this fundamental fact of our prison situation, forgiveness became not an act of will or of personal virtue, but an automatic and all-compelling consequence of understanding. The tables of the spirit strangely and promptly turned, and we found ourselves without self-pity of any kind, feeling instead deeply sorry for the Japanese, as if we were the free men and they the prisoners—men held in some profound *oubliette* of their own minds.

Nonetheless, what needed stressing was that by the beginning of 1945 we were all physically dying men. For more than three years the Japanese had steadily cut down our rations. The daily portion of rice, which was almost our only food, fell in three years from 500 grams per man a day to 90 grams—a fraction over three ounces. There was not a person in my prisoner-of-war camp in 1945 who was not suffering from deficiency disease of some kind. The most feared afflictions were the many kinds of malnutrition neuritis, which made men's nerves burn so much with pain that they could not sleep at night, and in many cases deprived them of their sight or lowered their moral and physical resistance so much that they died of afflictions that in normal conditions would not even have sent them to their beds. Some drawings I possess of scenes in our prison, done months before conditions reached their grimmest, reveal faces and bodies of men who look like the inmates of Belsen.

I myself had no doubt that the Japanese would in time be defeated. But what I could not tell was how they would ever be defeated in such a manner that would relieve them of their overwhelming compulsions of duty, of their sense of historical mission to carry feuds aflame in their blood to final cataclysmic ends in which they and all their enemies would perish.

I knew no nation for whom honor, however perverted, was so great a necessity as Japan. Intimately familiar as I was with Japanese history and literature, I needed no reminders of the destructive forms their individual and collective sense of honor could assume. The one thing I was thoroughly convinced of was that unless the Japanese could be defeated in such a way that they were not deprived of their honor, there was nothing but disaster for them and for us in the end. This, more than immediate star-

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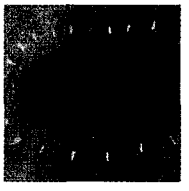
vation or disease, I saw as the real danger that threatened us every minute of our long years of captivity. A slaughter could come either through a breakdown of restraint in an individual Japanese commander and his guards, or through a deliberate choice of the Japanese command to pull down their own sprawling temple, Samson-like, in order to destroy the European Philistines along with themselves, rather than endure ignominious defeat.

I found proof for this worry in the fact that as the war turned increasingly against the Japanese, their treatment of captives became progressively harsher. Our conditions of imprisonment were daily deteriorating in an alarming fashion. And in Java alone there were close to 100,000 of us Europeans impounded in Japanese camps.

THE JAPANESE HAD TO BE DEFEATED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO RELIEVE THEM OF THEIR OVERWHELMING COMPULSIONS OF DUTY AND HONOR. OTHERWISE THERE WAS NOTHING BUT DISASTER FOR THEM AND FOR US IN THE END.



At one point, a party of British prisoners of war was sent out to build an aerodrome on the small island of Haruko in the Javanese archipelago. Hundreds of them had died on the island, through both the inefficiency of the Japanese system of logistics and the brutality of the Japanese military command. The survivors came back starved and dying, traveling in such terrible conditions that not many of them survived the journey.

Among the survivors was a Royal Air Force officer named Blackwood whom I had known well. Yet I did not recognize him until he spoke his name, which he did in a voice I could hardly hear. Blackwood told me that on the long journey in a small ship short of water and food, guarded by soldiers who never went short of either, his men died so fast that they were throwing corpses over the side at the rate of 17 to 27 a day.

However grave the defeat of the Japanese navy and airforce in the Pacific, Field Marshal Terauchi, their commander-in-chief in Southeast Asia, utterly rejected any thought of defeat or even peace negotiation. This seemed to me a prescription for the death of all persons in the power of the Japanese, for I could not see how they would have any regard for the lives of their prisoners at a moment when they had none for their own. Their uncompromising spirit would logically demand the sacrifice of all of the thousands of enemy races in their power.

A Korean spy named Kim who had started feeding intelligence to me in our camp had had a glimpse of Terauchi's secret orders to his commanders, and Kim warned that these stipulated that when the Allies began their final invasion of Southeast Asia, all prisoners in the camps, military as well as civilian, were to be killed. Then the Japanese military was to fight to the classical Samurai end. (When Japanese staff records were later captured at Terauchi's headquarters, plans to kill all prisoners and internees were indeed discovered.) I had barely come to terms with Kim's news when another warning came from him—that we were about to be forced into even more crowded conditions, for what could well be the preliminary to our final extinction.

Within a week we were marched to a new camp, somehow managing to keep in step and proper military formation. As always when faced with the worst, our men seemed to have some reserve of spirit left, which made the miserable occasion a kind of carnival of self-respect and pride. But we were all so near the end of our physical resources that I still see the long file of emaciated men walking the road in my memory, in conditions that made the famous march at the beginning of the film *The Bridge Over the River Kwai* seem by comparison some royal parade.

When at last we arrived, the congestion at our new camp was so great that men had to stand in queues 24 hours a day for their turn at the latrines, and we had to have on constant duty a chain of officers and men passing buckets of water filled from an open irrigation ditch (which fortunately ran through the middle of our new camp) so that the latrines could be continually flushed with water.

The most critical moment in our prison lives was approaching. Should the Japanese decide on a massacre, few of us could escape in our current arrangement. The most one could hope for in resisting a general slaughter would be to create sufficient confusion as to enable a small number of prisoners to escape, so that news of what had happened to us could be carried to our families and the world.

The men, however resolute, were completely without arms. Had the Japanese decided to invade the camp in force to exterminate us, we could have broken up our wooden bunks to make crude weapons, but the task would have taken so long we would have been shot down or bayoneted in the process. The only reason for mentioning our planning on this matter is to illustrate the desperation of our condition in this last prison. This feeling of growing peril I cannot emphasize enough.

I faced the additional possibility that our informant Kim might be detected and handed over to the Kempetai, the all-powerful Japanese military secret police who were such expert torturers that they invariably extracted any secrets from the people in their hands. This would have resulted in summary execution of many of us in the camp who had received Kim's reports.

One afternoon, all the senior Dutch and English POWs were suddenly summoned to parade in the prison quadrangle. The first officer in the line was a Battle of Britain pilot, Wing Commander "Micky" MacGuire. Camp Commander Gunzo Mori called MacGuire out of line and began berating him. Suddenly Mori bent down and lifted a heavy wood chair from the ground. Small as he was, Mori was broad-shouldered and immensely strong and he brought the chair down with such force on the head of the tall, emaciated MacGuire that it shattered. He then called out the officer next to MacGuire and each officer in turn was beaten up, both with fists and a piece of shattered chair,

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with Mori's henchman Kasayama joining in more and more with kicks to help the punishment along. That night I could not help thinking that the whole incident that afternoon could have been a dress rehearsal for the final and ultimate cataclysmic phase of our time in prison.

The Japanese tended to idealize death at the expense of life. In some mysterious but extremely profound fashion, the way a person died seemed to be more important to them than the way he lived. For them, triumph of the spirit was to be found not so much in victory over an enemy as in noble acceptance of unjust defeat, and in overcoming shame with self-inflicted death.

I suspected that, unknown to themselves, this war was for the Japanese an instinctive search for renewal—through the disaster of an utter collective defeat that would destroy a past they could not escape in any other way. Indeed, the manner in which Japan eventually came out of the disaster of the war and made itself into one of the most formidable technological nations on Earth seems to confirm my conclusions.

One night in August of 1945, a New Zealand officer in our camp managed to piece together a secret radio from stolen components. With it, he picked up a news broadcast from Delhi. He had not come in at the beginning, but near enough to realize that something tremendous had happened. He wasn't quite certain what precisely it was, but something more like an act of God than of man had been inflicted on Japan at a place called Hiroshima.

Exactly how and what had been done he couldn't tell. All he knew was that it was something new and terrible in human experience, more terrible even than earthquakes, tidal waves, or volcanic eruptions. When he recollected the emotion and the excitement in the announcer's voice, he couldn't be certain whether it was real news he had heard or perhaps just some kind of horrific radio play. I myself was in doubt. I remembered how, before the war, a large section of the population of the United States had taken a radio dramatization of H.G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* as a broadcast of actual events and panicked.

The next night the New Zealand officer got through not only to Delhi but to Perth and San Francisco, which gave us a clear picture of what had happened in Hiroshima. With leaping heart, I felt certain that this cataclysm would make the Japanese feel they could now withdraw from the war without dishonour—because the atom bomb would strike them, as it had us in the silence of our prison night, as something supernatural. They could not help seeing it as a divine intimation they had to follow and obey in all its implications.

There was talk of peace negotiations having been set in motion by the emperor of Japan. It seemed of the highest significance that the emperor himself—this sacred personage of living mythology who motivated the imaginations and actions of the Japanese people as a descendant of the great sun goddess herself—had suddenly emerged into the vulgar glare of the news. In present circumstances, only changes initiated and endorsed by the nearest human equivalent to a god could relieve the fanatical military forces of their compulsion to fight to the last. We had no inkling that even the emperor had only just succeeded in escaping suppression, if not assassination, at the hands of some rabid young officers.

Then, early in the afternoon after a long hot morning, I was suddenly sent for by the Japanese. A new Japanese sergeant-major whom I had never seen before was waiting for me. He led me out of the office and into a large waiting car. We were driven off quickly to a broad villa in Lemang. The grounds were full of staff cars with military chauffeurs at the ready.

I was bare-legged and wore a pair of prison-made clogs. I had on a pair of khaki shorts nearly rotted through by the sun and kept together only by constant patching and repairing. On my back was a khaki shirt in similar condition, with crude prison-made badges of rank sewn awkwardly on the shoulder. I had lost my military hat and wore instead one fashioned for me by an Australian out of khaki and cardboard. I could not have looked more like a caricature of an officer. I followed the orderly up the steps and through the door with as much dignity as I could muster, and with as much firmness as my depleted physique allowed. The large room into which I was ushered seemed full of senior staff officers. When they all rose and bowed to me as I entered, I knew beyond the last limit of doubt that I had been summoned for the best of all possible reasons.

Soon after dark, some thousands of men—followed by hundreds of their fellows carried on stretchers because they were too weak to walk, many of them near dying—marched out of their Japanese prison for the last time.

After I had finished my story, I begged the doctor to accept that, terrible as the dropping of the two atom bombs had been, his wife and many thousands like her had died in order to save the lives of many hundreds of thousands more. I tried to speak to him in this way not only for myself but for the many saved. Could I through him thus presume to acknowledge our debt of life and beg him to believe his wife had not died in vain?

Whether I helped him by my story, and whether he agreed with my conclusions, I could not tell for certain. All I know is that at the end of our television discussion, before we left on our separate ways, he bowed to me as the Japanese general and his officers on that fateful August day had done.

Hissing between his teeth as the old-fashioned Japanese used to do when moved, he came out of his bow to say: "Would you please be so kind as to allow me to thank you for a remarkable thought."

He added to that, after a pause, the traditional farewell of the Japanese, which in itself reflects much of their spirit charged so heavily with provision of fate: the Sayonara that just means: "If it must be."

Sir Laurens van der Post is an award-winning British author. This article is extracted by the editors from his autobiographical wartime reminiscence The Night of the New Moon.

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Transcript

WORDS WORTH REPEATING

THE INDIAN ROMANCE

Over the decades, American Indians have often been portrayed in inaccurate negative caricatures. Today, the politically correct are proclaiming that Disney's new film *Pocahontas* (following on *Dances with Wolves* and other recent efforts for adults) finally presents a "realistic" view of Indian life. Actually, Disney's writers have merely traded one stereotype for a new polar opposite. The native peoples of America weren't quite the peace-loving, environmentally enlightened sages of cartoon fame, as the historical extracts below demonstrate.

• *It was quite common for Indians to abuse and enslave other Indians. In real life, Pocahontas's father Chief Powhatan conquered and tyrannized 20 other tribes. Below is a typical description of the enmity that often existed between tribes. It is provided by Nelson Lee, who spent three years in the 1850s living among the Comanche:*

Some 250 of the Comanche warriors set out on their annual grand buffalo hunt....They halted suddenly, making hurried signs...I heard the cry "the Apaches, the Apaches."...Two or three minutes after, the air was rent with the noise of the war whoop, and up the opposite ascent at full speed came the Apaches....The battle was fierce and terrible....A deadly strife existed between the tribes, and it would have been a scandalous violation of an Indian's idea of manhood to have separated without a bloody tilt at arms.

In 1876, when U.S. soldiers attacked the Cheyenne village of Dull Knife, they found two human finger necklaces, a woman's right arm, and a bag containing the right hands of 12 Shoshone Indian babies.

• *Drunkenness, profligacy, and environmental abuse were practiced at least as much by Indians as by other peoples. The narrative following is derived from a journal kept by James Smith, who at age 18 was captured by Caughnawaga marauders while building a road in western Pennsylvania. For five years Smith lived among the Indians, first as a captive and then as an adoptee. This incident begins with Smith's description of trying to keep the warriors from murdering each other during one of their periodic drinking binges.*

I fell in with those who were to conceal the arms and keep all dangerous weapons out of the way of the drinking club and try, if possible, to keep them from killing each other. This was a very hard task. Several times we hazarded our own lives and got ourselves hurt in preventing them from slaying each other....After the Indians were done with this keg, they bought from the traders a keg full of brandy. Then they bought another, and another, and never quit while they had a single beaver skin....Cold weather was now approaching. We began to feel the effects of having extravagantly and foolishly spent the large quantity of beaver we had taken in our last winter's hunt. We were all nearly in the same circumstances—scarcely one had a shirt to his back....We met with some Ottawa hunters and agreed with them to take what they call a ring hunt. We waited until we expected rain was near falling and then we kindled a large circle of fire on the prairie. A great number of deer lay concealed in the grass in the day and moved about in the night. As the fire burned in towards the center of the circle, the deer fled before it. The Indians were scattered at some distance and shot them down at every opportunity.... As the wind arose the flames spread over the whole prairie. This put an end to our ring hunting this season, and upon the whole we received more harm than benefit by it.

• *Cruelty to animals was accepted among the Apache, reports John Cremony in his 1868 chronicle* Life Among the Apaches*:*

The quality of mercy is unknown among the Apaches. They frequently take birds and animals alive, but invariably give them to their children to torture....Even their horses are not spared, and their dogs may truly be said to lead "dog's lives."

So was cruelty to captives:

Every expression of pain or agony is hailed with delight, and the one whose inventive genius can devise the most excruciating kind of death is honored. One of the most cruel spectacles occurred in Cooke's Canyon. A party of eight well-armed Mexicans, accompanied by their families, were on their way from Sonora to California...when they were set upon....Suddenly ceasing their assault, the Apaches informed the Mexicans that they had no desire to destroy their lives....Then they said that if the Mexicans would surrender their arms, and give them half the number of mules attached to the wagons, they might prosecute their journey in peace. This proposition was accepted by the inexperienced Mexicans, and so soon as their savage enemies had obtained control of their arms, each man

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was seized, bound to the wheel of a wagon, head downward, about 18 inches from the ground, a fire made under them, and their brains roasted from their heads. The women and children were carried off captive.

◦ *Indian men generally limited their activities to hunting and ruling. Indian women did most of the society's daily work, as this excerpt from Cremony indicates:*

[After marriage] the regular and arduous duties of the Apache wife, and her life of toil and slavish suffering commences.... The women are by no means averse to sharing the affections of their lords with other wives, as the increased number lessens the work for each individual.

◦ *Large numbers of American settlers were killed by Indians. One leading Kentuckian estimated in 1790 that during the seven years after the end of the American Revolution, 1,500 people were killed in Kentucky or the routes leading to it alone. (One of these unfortunates was Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of our sixteenth president.) A report covering part of Kansas for the last half of the year 1868 showed 157 settlers and 11 Indians killed, plus 24 children, four women and one man taken into captivity, 1,627 livestock animals stolen, 24 settlements destroyed, and more than a dozen wagon trains and stagecoaches annihilated. Turn-of-the-century scholar Cyrus Brady reports that many Westerners had agreements that in the last extremity during Indian attacks, women and children were to be shot by their own loved ones rather than being allowed to fall into the hands of their attackers. The next account by Lavina Eastlick indicates why this practice grew up. Eastlick survived an 1862 rampage in Minnesota that President Lincoln estimated to have killed at least 800 white settlers. The Sioux who murdered Eastlick's family lived on a neighbor's property and had been considered friends.*

The Indians said they would not kill any of the women and children....I started for [them and] looked back to see if the children were coming. Freddy started, but an old squaw ran and struck him over the head with something, I did not know what, and pounded him on the back. Then she let him get up and come on after me. His face was all streaming with blood. Not satisfied with her fiendish cruelty, she ran after him and knocked him down again, pounded him some more, took him up in her hands, raised him up as high as she could, and threw him down on the ground.... "Mother! Mother!" he called. The blood was running out of his mouth in a stream.... During the day I heard the children crying most of the time; sometimes I heard them screaming and crying....I wished I could die....About four o'clock in the afternoon I heard three guns fired. The children then ceased crying. Poor, innocent ones!—they were now at rest.

• *Surgeon John Knight was captured by Sandusky Indians in 1782 and miraculously escaped death at the stake, but only after being forced to watch the torture of many other men, including Colonel William Crawford, an old friend of George Washington's:*

They fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them....An old squaw cut off one's head and the Indians kicked it about on the ground....The Indian men took up their guns and shot powder into the colonel's body from his feet as far up as his neck. I think not less than 70 loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him and, to the best of my observation, cut off his ears. Three or four Indians by turns would take up burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burned black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him, so that, whichever way he ran round the post to which he was tied, they met him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards, put a quantity of burning coals and hot embers upon them, and threw this on him. In a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon. In the midst of these extreme tortures he called to Simon Girty and begged him to shoot him....Colonel Crawford besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and...continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three-quarters or two hours longer. At last he lay down on his belly. They then scalped him. Repeatedly, they threw the scalp in my face. "That is your great captain," they told me. An old squaw...got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes, and laid them on his back and head after he had been scalped. He raised himself upon his feet and began to walk around the post. They next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

• *There are numerous accounts of Indian cannibalism of enemies. The practice was apparently rather common among the Iroquois in particular. Fur trader Alexander Henry describes several incidents of cannibalism he observed while being held by Chippewa during the 1763 massacre at Fort Michilimackinac in present-day Michigan.*

The dead were scalped and mangled, the dying were writhing and shrieking under the knife and tomahawk. From the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory....For two days I had eaten nothing. I confess that in the canoe, with the Chippewas, I was offered bread—but bread with what accompaniment! They had a loaf which they cut with the same knives they had employed in the massacre—knives still covered with blood. The blood they moistened with spittle and, rubbing it on the bread, offered this to their prisoners, telling them to eat the blood of their countrymen.... [After a chief put seven white prisoners to death] the Indians took the fattest of the bodies, cut off the head, and divided the whole into five parts. These were put into five kettles. A message came for Wawatam [an Indian who was protecting Henry] to take part. He...returned, bringing a human hand and a large piece of flesh. He did not appear to relish the repast, but told me it always had been the custom, among all the Indian nations when returning from war, to make a war feast from among the slain. This, he said, inspired the warriors with courage in attack.

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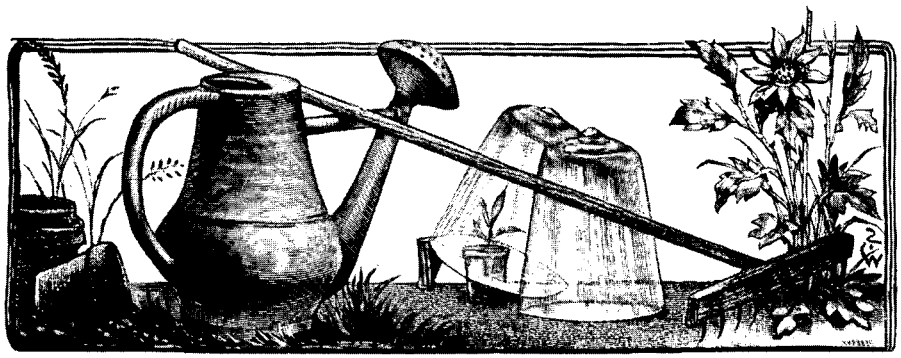
In Real Life

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS



HOW I BECAME A PETAL PUSHER

by Blake Hurst

I blame George Gilder and my wife. Gilder because his book, *Wealth and Poverty,* inspired me. My wife because she likes flowers. Gilder made entrepreneurship seem romantic. My wife made growing flowers seem easy. Neither one was right.

Our business started not with some well-thought-out strategic plan, but with a basement full of plants and the eerie glow of "grow lights." When at last there was no more room in the house for plants, I built a greenhouse in the back yard. It was the first greenhouse I'd ever been in.

When it filled, we sold some plants to a local grocery store without any problem. Soon, we were selling more plants than we could raise. Because we had made commitments to our customers we were forced to purchase plants from a larger grower to resell. At a loss. Not a very auspicious start.

So, the next year, we built another greenhouse. And another one the year after that. Our bedding plant business is still growing, and we have, rather to our surprise, found ourselves with a small but thriving enterprise. It is still a thrill to win a new customer, and running your own business is every bit as satisfying as Gilder made it seem. But George left out a few things. Like transmissions. My sister-in-law was our second employee, and drove a delivery truck for us for several years. She was not amused when the transmission went on our truck and stranded her in the wilds of northeastern Kansas. The Platte City, Missouri fire department was amused, however, when the transmission in our car locked up and caught fire on the way to pick up plants at the Kansas City Airport.

SOON WE WERE SELLING MORE PLANTS THAN WE COULD RAISE. TO MEET OUR COMMITMENTS, WE WERE FORCED TO BUY PLANTS FROM A LARGER GROWER FOR RESALE AT A LOSS. NOT A VERY AUSPICIOUS START.

Gilder was eloquent in his description of the effect taxes have on business formation and growth. But even he failed to capture the feeling of panic that comes when you realize that the quarterly withholding report is due, it is 11 P.M., and you're so tired that all thought processes shut down hours ago. The IRS is not particularly interested in the imaginative aspects of business that Gilder emphasizes, as I learned to my dismay when I quite innocently misinterpreted the rules regarding monthly deposit of tax monies.

But this spring, it was all going to be different. We had nearly 10 years of growing plants under our belt, had installed a new computer and bookkeeping system, had replaced a couple of outdated greenhouses with a new, modern facility, and had replaced both of our delivery vehicles. We even installed a rather elaborate alarm system that monitored temperatures in all of our greenhouses and called us on the phone if there was a problem. We felt confident enough for both Julie and I to be away from the greenhouse overnight during the spring season for the first time in several years. We programmed our alarm system with my father's phone number, and in case he was gone, we added both my brothers' home phone numbers. Then we left.

Inevitably, a weather change brought temperatures below zero, with 40 m.p.h. winds. And several of our greenhouse heaters malfunctioned. The phone began ringing at my father's house at 1 A.M. Dad was home, but I had neglected to tell him how to disable the alarm, so it also called both my brothers, each of whom also got out of bed and came to our greenhouses. Several times. All of my family, although they live nearby, are a long distance phone call from my home. When I got my phone bill, my alarm had made 57 phone calls to relatives. The weather was cold indeed, but not nearly so chilly as the reception I received when Julie and I returned home.

But the plants survived, thanks to my family's help. And now we're in the midst of our main season, and loading trucks and delivering plants from daylight till dark. We've had our normal quotient of irate customers, weather delays, and worries about paying our bills. But when I wonder why I ever let this plant-growing hobby of

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Julie's get so far out of hand, I think of Mrs. Barnard. A widow in her 70s, Mrs. Barnard visits our greenhouse about twice a week all season long. She buys a lot of plants, but we really appreciate her visits because she truly loves flowers. Having your own business is fun, and a challenge, but the true reward is in producing something that brings joy to other people.

And the next time Julie and I are gone overnight, we're going to program George Gilder's phone number into our alarm system.

Blake Hurst writes frequently for The American Enterprise *from Tarkio, Missouri.*

ON THE TRAIL OF "SOME DUDE"

by Gaye Wagner

In all the thick dissertations analyzing criminal behavior, nowhere will you find mention of the specter named "Some Dude," or the faulty brain switch in regular citizens that turns off common sense in the pursuit of a "good deal." But I can tell you these two factors cause problems for us police officers nearly every day.

When I was a tyke, I had an imaginary bunny as a companion. This bunny was also, I tried to explain to my mom, the true wrongdoer when she mistakenly blamed me for the broken china cup, the crayon on the wall, and the grape juice on the white table cloth. I gave up my imaginary friend at about age four.

For many people who break the law, though, destructive imaginary friends never quite go away. On inner-city streets, these elusive bad guys are known as "Some Dude." Some Dude has been fingered in my presence for stealing, selling drugs, and hawking hot goods. There's something about sitting in the back seat of a police car wearing locked bracelets that brings hazy recollections of Some Dude to life. And Some Dude is one tenacious opponent in the war on crime, as these slices of interviews indicate:

> "Where did you get the car?"
>
> "I got it from Some Dude. I bought it for $5. I ran into him when I got off the trolley. We started talking. He said, 'Check out this car I have. Want to buy it?' He said it would be $15. I said $5 was all I had, so he said, 'Take it for $5.' "
>
> "You bought a late model Mazda RX-7 for $5 and you're telling me you didn't know it was stolen?"
>
> "...Once I got in the car and seen everything...it didn't have an ignition. I said, 'Yea, it's stolen,' but I already paid the $5, so...and I didn't steal the car."

Oh. And Some Dude also does dastardly drug deeds:

> "Did you know this is crystal methamphetamine on your front seat?"
>
> "I knew. I know Some Dude who uses it. When I saw him with it, I told him to put it in my blue pouch, and I gave him a job etiquette lecture, because I don't want that stuff on my job sites. I told him if I ever saw it again, I'd fire him. I don't know why he left it there. I didn't even notice it was still on my seat."
>
> "Who is this dude?"
>
> "He works for me, but I just met him. I don't know his full name."
>
> "Where is he now?"
>
> "I don't know."

"YOU BOUGHT A LATE MODEL MAZDA RX-7 FOR $5 AND YOU'RE TELLING ME YOU DIDN'T KNOW IT WAS STOLEN?"

Here's another:

> "What's this in your pocket?"
>
> "It looks like a piece of rock (cocaine), but I couldn't be sure, ma'am. These aren't my pants."
>
> "You're wearing them. Whose pants are they?"
>
> "They're Some Dude's. We're the same size. I just grabbed his pants by mistake, I guess."

OK. And, finally:

> "What are you doing with PCP?"
>
> "It's not mine. Some Dude left it in the park. I just picked it up and took it. I'm just holding it for him. I didn't want somebody to pick it up and not know what it was."
>
> "Who is this dude, and where can I find him?"
>
> "I don't know his name or where he lives. He's just a dude I know."

Right.

If you're thinking I'm absurdly bad at writing believable dialogue tidbits, lose heart. The above all come from real interviews with real adults.

Most times, the "Some Dude" alibi makes me chuckle. Until the defense attorney launches it when I'm in court. Because now and again, Some Dude casts a shadow of doubt that actually allows the storyteller to go free.

And it's not only chronic law dodgers who turn their consciences off when the planets of good deal and easy opportunity align. There are ready buyers from all walks of life for car stereos hawked at a pittance in the beach parking lot. Yeah, $25 seemed a little low for a $350 leaf blower, but, hey, you never know why people are getting rid of stuff at a swap meet. And the door-to-door hustler with the cheap electronics equipment comes in very handy when you want to buy something for the kids. When one of us inquiring police officers asks these cost-conscious buyers where they got their great deal, it's usually a contrite voice that answers, "From Some Dude at..."

The biggest challenge of everyday crime fighting isn't dodging bullets, though that's a risk for sure. It's the bit-by-bit information gathering that eventually convinces people that Some Dude is a ghost, and one who will haunt anyone willing to believe themselves and summon his presence.

Gaye Wagner, a frequent contributor to The American Enterprise, *is a San Diego police officer.*

WRITING OFF MY FAMILY

By Susan Olasky

When I married 19 years ago I planned to be a professional of some sort. Shortly after our wedding, however, I became pregnant, and before our first anniversary we were parents. I found I liked motherhood,

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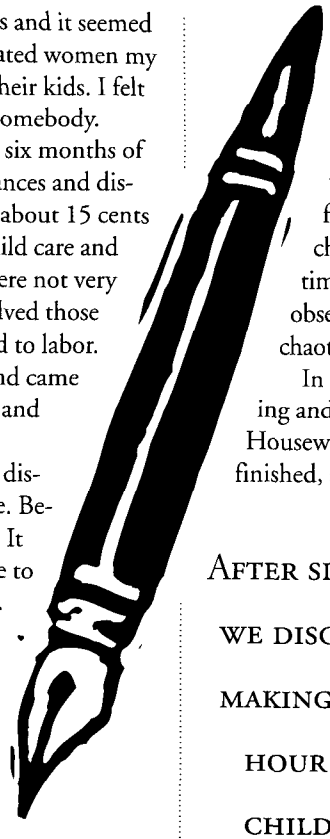
but this was the mid-1970s and it seemed that very few college-educated women my age (23) were home with their kids. I felt pressure to go out and be somebody.

So I got a job. But after six months of work, we analyzed our finances and discovered that I was making about 15 cents an hour after paying for child care and transportation—and we were not very happy. Quitting the job solved those problems, but I still wanted to labor. So I went back to school and came out with a graduate degree and baby number two.

That's when I made the discovery that changed my life. Being at home was liberating. It was fun. It allowed me time to learn to do different things.



Over the next few years I helped start a local crisis pregnancy center and began homeschooling one son. We had our third baby. And I began to write. My first attempts were pitiful, but I gradually learned the discipline and the craft.

The most important thing I had to learn, though, was that life is long, and that it's not necessary to accomplish everything at once. My husband Marvin once met a Harvard professor who pointed proudly to a shelf of books he had written, explaining he had no children. He couldn't do both, he said. Each potential child would have cost him a book, he estimated, and he preferred the books. I prefer my family.

And I'm convinced that it's because of my family that I'm able to write. I've received encouragement and learned technical things from my husband, who edits a magazine. And I've learned human things from my children. That's why I take the travails that come from writing at home with a shrug. It isn't always easy, but what's the alternative?

I write mostly on Tuesday and Thursday mornings, because that's when I take my four-year-old to Mother's Day Out. Marvin and I sometimes try to write while Ben is occupied at home, but that can be frustrating. Last spring while he was supposedly being pacified by Pinocchio, Ben decided he needed to kill the whale by urinating at the screen. The result: a shorted-out TV.

My writing ranges from columns for *World* to children's books. Some days the words come fast, other days I fritter away time and keep checking my watch to see if it's time for lunch yet. To an outside observer my life probably seems chaotic. But it works for me.

In particular, I think homemaking and writing are complementary. Housework and childrearing are never finished, and it's sometimes hard to see progress. Not so with writing. Each book or article has a beginning and an end. Things get published; I don't have to revisit the same topic over and over again.

AFTER SIX MONTHS OF WORK, WE DISCOVERED THAT I WAS MAKING ABOUT 15 CENTS AN HOUR AFTER PAYING FOR CHILD CARE AND TRANSPORTATION—AND WE WERE NOT VERY HAPPY.

At the same time, writing carries hazards that my family work counteracts. When I write my stories I have a sense of Susie in charge of the universe. If there is a character I don't like, I wipe him out. If my heroine has a besetting sin, I write it away. I bend and shape my characters until they conform to my requirements. That's fun, but that's fiction. In real life we must muddle along, and take the needs of others into account as well as our own. My time caring for my family helps me understand and accept this. It reminds me that I'm not in charge, God is—and He knows what He's doing. That is a critical life's lesson we've tried to teach our children. And it's one I'm glad to regularly re-learn myself.

Susan Olasky lives and labors in Austin, Texas.

EMPLOYER TO SCHOOLS: YOU FLUNK

by Doug Glant

To an inveterate do-gooder and committed Rotarian (Seattle #4), this sounded like the perfect combination of civic activism and good business. Our Rotary club was sponsoring a youth corps, primarily to benefit minorities, by assisting them in getting that first entry-level job. I signed up post haste.

Our first young man showed up for a $7.50 an hour (plus medical benefits) job in our recycling plant. He had a proclivity for being late to work, but we assumed we could ease him into punctuality and so began the training process—which included learning to operate a forklift. As he had gone through 11th grade, we assumed he could read English. Wrong. So our training was done in a Homeric oral fashion. We stressed repeatedly that safely was crucial, especially when operating machinery. This message was shaken off like a bad pitch, as he preferred playing bumper car to hauling metal. After two minor scrapes and one expensive fence knockdown we reluctantly concluded that this was not going to work. Our parting seemed pleasant enough, until we received some much less friendly communication from the local Equal Opportunity Board. We were eventually exonerated, but only several months and several thousand dollars later.

I'm a stubborn guy, though, so I decided to try another lad. Though this one was a graduate of one of Seattle's finest public high schools, he couldn't even begin to read or fill out the job application form. We coached him through the process with teeth-grinding tedium. On the job, he lasted 6 hours, remarking to the superintendent on his way out the door that working in a scrapyard was hard, much too hard to be paid a measly $7.50 an hour (this in 1975).

But, Cervantes-style, I once more surged into the battle. By now the friendly folks at the Rotary Job Office recognized my voice. And this time they said they had just the guy for us.

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His name was Bill. And he was thrilled to have a $7.50/hour job doing almost anything. He got off to a fine start, arriving 10 minutes early for his first training session.

But, alas, he (another high school graduate) read like a 3rd grader. Only with much stroking and cajoling could he fill out forms and get through manuals. Neither his flesh nor his spirit was weak, however, and he continued to show up on time, give us an honest day's work, and generally comport himself productively. Twenty years later he is still with us. We helped him improve his communication skills (he now reads at the 9th grade level, though not often), and he has progressed to assistant foreman. Unfortunately, the next step up requires math and writing skills never taught to Bill, though once normal for 6th graders in this country. So he is stuck at a job that is decent, but much less than he could have achieved with a successful education.

The saddest part of this story is that 20 years after my little experiment, Seattle's inner-city schools are far worse even than they were. Many of the students they "graduate" aren't even remotely at Bill's level. And I'm not the do-gooder I once was. Ours is a relatively small family business, and we can't afford to provide our employees with what schools are supposed to. I know our local giants Boeing and Microsoft don't hire these functional illiterates. Whether anyone else does I can't say.

And the answer isn't more money. Our school system receives heavy taxpayer support, yet the more we've spent, the worse the results. Instead, the starting place must be a return to rigor and discipline in the schools. Get back to basics in the curriculum. Flunk a few folks. Fire a few bad teachers and principals. Bonus the good ones. Perhaps the solution must come from outside the entrenched public school system.

But as long as the teachers' unions and permissive liberals rule education, the decline will continue. And American industry will bear a large part of the pain.

Doug Glant is a Seattle-area businessman.

WHY I SERVE

by David V. Broome

Saturday, 0700 hours, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland. The sun is just rising and beginning to take the cutting edge off the cold morning air. I think of how much I'd rather be in bed as the flight sergeant calls open ranks for guardmount inspection at the 459th Security Police Squadron. After inspection, a few announcements for this month's Unit Training Assembly are made and the day's schedule is given. Today's duties will include reviewing search-and-seizure procedures, listening to a lecture on the use of deadly force, and learning new handcuffing protocols.

Before I joined the Air Force, and even while I served my four years on active duty, this sort of "weekend warrior" reserve training seemed mundane, perhaps even a charade of real military work. But now that I don't wear my country's uniform every day, I better appreciate the value of all service in our armed forces.

In most republics, the call to military service was believed to reach, in principle if not always in practice, to every able-bodied man. America's Founders very much admired the citizen-soldier and the simple patriotism he represented, with Jefferson insisting that "every citizen should be a soldier." But these days, fewer and fewer Americans serve in the military—or gain the respect and understanding for its work that come with that experience.

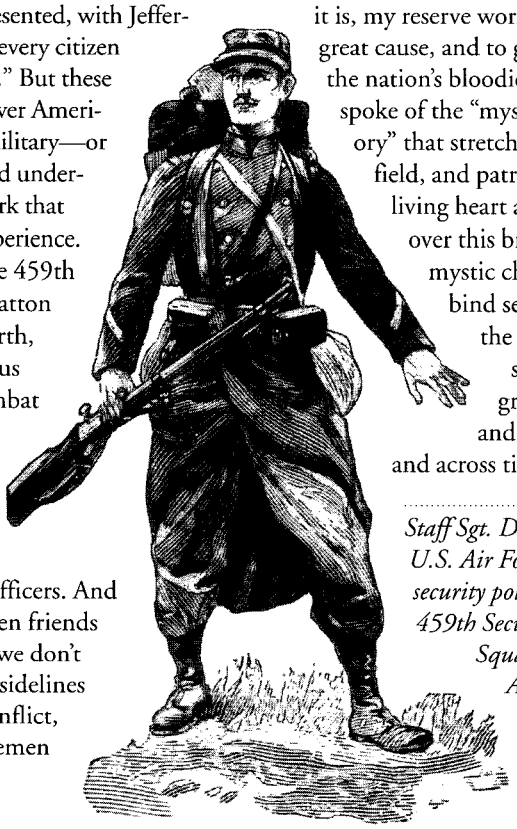
Few of us in the 459th are likely to be a Patton or David Hackworth, nor have many of us faced death in combat as they did. But a large number of my colleagues do face danger during the week as civilian police officers. And most of us have seen friends go off to combat; we don't want to be on the sidelines during a future conflict, when other servicemen go into battle.

If you asked us why we're in the reserves, we'd probably have trouble answering. Few of us are here for the token money. Part of the motivation may be the camaraderie, which includes opportunities for foreign travel and, if you're not careful, shaving cream in your boots and other practical jokes. And of course, some of us actually enjoy sleeping in the woods.

But the primary motivation for our service is very simple. Most of us are reservists because we want to serve our country. Asking us why we serve is like asking somebody why he loves his mother. You're not likely to receive an eloquent reply, but the corny truth is powerful—we want to prove ourselves in the service of something much larger than ourselves.

One weekend a month, plus two additional weeks a year, I train in police procedures and in infantry tactics designed to defend an air base from ground assault. If I am ever called up in some future confrontation, I'll apply those skills against forces intending harm to American interests.

Compared to the time I put into a regular weekday job, my Air Force duty is a fairly modest undertaking. But humble as it is, my reserve work connects me to a great cause, and to good men. Facing the nation's bloodiest war, Lincoln spoke of the "mystic chords of memory" that stretch "from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land." Those mystic chords especially bind servicemen—from the humblest supply sergeant to the greatest warrior, up and down the ranks, and across time as well.



Staff Sgt. David V. Broome, U.S. Air Force Reserve, is a security policeman with the 459th Security Police Squadron at Andrews Air Force Base.

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Business Faces a National Worker Registry

by John J. Miller

When Doris Meissner arrived at the White House last February, she couldn't get in. That wouldn't much matter, except that Meissner heads the Immigration and Naturalization Service and was scheduled to deliver a briefing on efforts to fight illegal immigration. The security guards refused to let her pass because their computer did not recognize her identification. Meissner had to wait for 30 minutes before somebody fixed the glitch. She then raced to her appointment and announced, tardily, that the Clinton administration supports creating a national ID system to monitor every single hiring decision made in the United States.

Few people missed the irony. But the fact that this idea is currently sailing through Congress is a testimony to the desperation people feel over illegal immigration—and the extent to which politicians will go in trying to convince their constituents that they are "doing something" about it. As crazy as it sounds, the same federal government that can't get its own INS Commissioner into the White House for a briefing is on the verge of running a national ID system in every American workplace.

Roughly 4 million illegal immigrants live in the United States today—1.5 percent of the total population—and their numbers grow by about 300,000 each year. The vast majority come for jobs. Congress recognized this fact in 1986 when it tried to clamp down on their employment opportunities by passing an employer sanctions law, which made it illegal to hire undocumented workers.

But employer sanctions have been a bust. Many workers use phony work documents, which are easy to obtain in most major cities. Lots of illegal immigrants work in sectors of the economy where their employers consciously flout the law and know they won't get caught. In spite of employer sanctions, illegal immigration actually has risen since 1989 and is now at an all-time high.

If supporters of the national worker ID system have their way, employers in the future will have to ask the federal government's permission every time they want to hire somebody. A job applicant will present his or her Social Security number to a prospective employer, who will then check it against a national database that contains Social Security Administration and INS records. A new bureaucracy—deemed the "Office of Employment and Public Assistance Eligibility Verification" in one bill—then will respond with either a thumbs up or thumbs down. The system will undergo about 65 million checks each year—the annual number of times Americans either enter the workforce or switch jobs.

The system will undergo about 65 million checks each year. In a pilot program, nine employers faced total compliance costs of more than $31,000.

One potential pitfall is figuring out whether the person presenting the Social Security number is actually the owner of that number. Some have suggested that a national ID card will solve the problem. Senator Alan Simpson's bill, which moved out of his immigration subcommittee in June and awaits a hearing before the full Judiciary Committee, would have the federal government closely regulate how states issue birth certificates and turn them into *de facto* national identifiers that include Social Security numbers and a "biometric" indicator, such as a fingerprint.

Senator Dianne Feinstein goes even further. Writing in *Roll Call,* she demands a national ID card that includes "a magnetic strip on which the bearer's unique voice, retina pattern, or fingerprint is digitally encoded." Columnist Paul Gigot responded in the *Wall Street Journal* by noting, "If you think the Michigan militia is paranoid now, just wait until it's asked for retina scans."

Employers aren't thrilled at the prospect of having this new burden forced upon them. The National Federation of Independent Business, the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, and the Small Business Survival Committee all signed a letter in June that called these proposals "misguided and dangerous." In a pilot program widely cited for how a system of national identification would work, nine employers faced total compliance costs of more than $31,000.

Put forward as it is in the name of controlling the legitimate national problem of illegal immigration, few lawmakers have publicly criticized this plan. Republican Majority Leader Dick Armey has, however, blasted the idea of a national ID system. "I will fight it," he said before a Cato Institute audience in May. "Any system in which Americans would be forced to possess such a card, for any reason, is an abomination and wholly at odds with the American tradition of individual freedom."

John J. Miller is vice president of the Center for Equal Opportunity.

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the Endangered Species Economist

Making Endangered Species Friends Instead of Enemies

by Richard L. Stroup

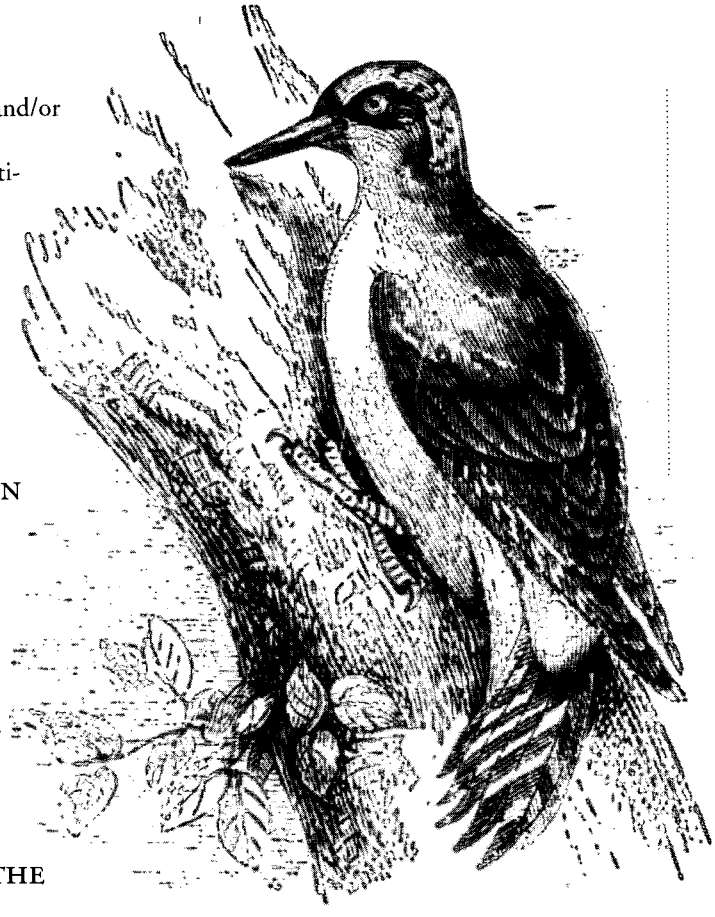
The Endangered Species Act jeopardizes the very species it's supposed to protect. The case of Ben Cone illustrates how.

In 1982, Benjamin Cone, Jr., inherited 7,200 acres of land in Pender County, North Carolina. He has managed the land primarily for wildlife. He has planted rye and other food crops to attract wild turkey, for example, and the wild turkey has made a comeback in Pender County partly due to his efforts. He has also frequently conducted controlled burns of the property to improve the habitat for quail and deer.

In the 1970s, when Ben Cone and a caretaker were managing the land for other family members, they noted a couple of red-cockaded woodpeckers on the property. Red-cockaded woodpeckers—residents of the federal government's endangered species list—nest in the cavities of very old trees and are apparently attracted to places that have both old trees and little underbrush. By clearing the underbrush to help quail and deer, and by selectively cutting small amounts of timber, Cone may have helped attract the rare woodpecker.

In the 1970s the birds posed no obvious problem to Cone, because he did not want to log their habitat, which the Endangered Species Act might have prevented him from doing. In 1991, when Cone did intend to sell some timber from his land, the presence of the birds was formally recorded. Cone hired a wildlife biologist to determine the number of birds, believed to be 29 birds in 12 colonies. According to the Fish and Wildlife Service's guidelines then in effect, no timber could be harvested within a half-mile radius of each woodpecker colony, with any harvester facing severe fines and/or imprisonment.

Based on biologists' estimates of the presence of the birds and the Fish and Wildlife rules, over 1,100 acres of Cone's land are now under the control of the Fish and Wildlife Service. Yet Cone is still required to pay taxes on the land's previous value, before its worth was considerably diminished by the government logging restrictions.



ALTHOUGH OVER 1,100 ACRES OF BEN CONE'S LAND ARE NOW UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL, HE IS STILL REQUIRED TO PAY TAXES ON THE VALUE OF THE LAND BEFORE ITS WORTH WAS DIMINISHED BY LOGGING RESTRICTIONS.

As a result of the government's intervention, Cone has had to change the way he manages his land's wildlife and timber. In the past, he used small clear-cuts and controlled burning to clear a 50-acre area every 5 to 10 years and thereby create the sort of "edge" between forest and non-forest that attracts many types of wildlife. But since the woodpeckers were found and the logging had to be stopped on more than 1,100 acres, Cone has clear-cut 300 acres and more per year on the rest of his land. He told an investigator, "I cannot afford to let those woodpeckers take over the rest of the property. I'm going to start massive clear-cutting. I'm going to a 40-year rotation, instead of a 75- to 80-year rotation." Cone's new rotation will do away with old trees on the areas he can still harvest and thus prevent woodpeckers from nesting in the tree cavities that would have appeared there. Eventually, the acres now set aside for the woodpecker will rot or burn, and his land will be free of the woodpecker.

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Ben Cone is a relatively wealthy man, and so to many people he may not be a sympathetic figure. But we don't have to have sympathy for him personally to see that he faces a genuine problem and that other landowners may well act the same way. Indeed, after Cone informed the owner of neighboring land about possible liabilities in connection with the red-cockaded woodpecker, he noticed that the owner, a business firm, clear-cut its property.

Experiences like Ben Cone's have encouraged landowners around the country to prevent their land from harboring listed species. Some landowners now manage their land in a way that almost assures it will not be suitable for endangered species. Others may even be going to the extreme of "shoot, shovel, and shut up." No one knows for sure that this has happened, but the government's takeover of land for the sake of protected species is having a perverse effect. In 1993 an official of the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department wrote that in his state, more habitat for the black-capped vireo and the golden-checked warbler has been lost since they were listed under the Endangered Species Act than would have been lost if the ESA had not been applied to them.

Our Constitution explicitly forbids the U.S. Army from forcing citizens to "quarter" soldiers (that is, provide them with food and shelter), even in the name of national defense. Yet the government can now require the same citizen to quarter a grizzly bear, a spotted owl, or any other member of a threatened or endangered species—all at the landowner's expense without any society-wide sharing of the burden.

If the Army had the same power to demand the billeting of soldiers as the Fish and Wildlife Service does for endangered species, we would expect to see soldiers feared, despised, and perhaps even ambushed, as listed species reportedly are today. But in fact, the armed forces are nearly always welcome, for the simple reason that the military pays its way. Communities currently battle the military leadership not to have soldiers removed from their midst but to ensure that they stay. Thanks to the policy of compensation, the Pentagon must struggle to close a base.

Several groups are trying to come up with modifications of the Endangered Species Act that would provide similar incentives capable of transforming rare species from feared enemies of landowners to welcome friends. One suggestion is to provide property tax credits for landowners who commit themselves to long-range habitat protection. Another is to pay landowners "bounties" or "rewards" for endangered species found on their land. Still another is for the government to "rent" the land whose use is to be confiscated for endangered species' habitats.

For two species in Texas, more habitat has been lost since they were listed under the Endangered Species Act than would have been lost if the ESA had not been applied.

All these approaches are worth considering, but the critical change is to remove the ability of the Fish and Wildlife Service to seize control of land without compensation. This could be accomplished through court action or through legislation. Such a change would have two benefits: (1) landowners would no longer fear finding endangered species on their property, and (2) the Fish and Wildlife Service would for the first time have to consider the costs of its regulations. Rather than foisting the costs of its programs onto a few unfortunate landowners, the service would be able to take only those actions it could afford, based on funding it received through the normal congressional budget process. This would encourage the service to be more thoughtful and efficient in its executive actions. Once they had to pay for the land they used, the agency staff would begin searching for less intrusive and more cost-effective ways to preserve species.

At present, the Fish and Wildlife Service's chief way of protecting threatened animals is to control wildlife habitat directly and to forbid other uses of the land. Since that habitat costs the service nothing, its officials have an incentive to overuse it, the same way a driver handed a free supply of gasoline would use his car more. Yet there may be ways of protecting wildlife that don't exclude so many other uses of land. The captive breeding that brought back the peregrine falcon, for example, requires little or no habitat set aside specifically for the falcon. Specially designed nesting boxes that would replace the cavities of old trees might be an excellent alternative means of protecting red-cockaded woodpeckers. (Companies such as International Paper are already using the boxes, and many more landowners could be persuaded to do so if their very success at housing woodpeckers wouldn't increase the danger of draconian land-use controls.)

Putting the Fish and Wildlife Service "on budget" does not mean that species protection would disappear or even diminish. Under such a scheme, the current bizarre incentives for destruction of flora and fauna would end, and landowners would become far more cooperative in protecting rare creatures. Strong evidence exists that individuals and organizations would take action on their own to protect species, if the penalties for owning valuable habitat were removed. For decades, private organizations—both for-profit and non-profit—have pursued effective, low-cost means of habitat preservation. Removing penalties to landowners' cooperation will make it much easier for such groups to expand their preservation efforts.

Here are a few examples of what to expect:

- The Delta Waterfowl Foundation has an "adopt-a-pothole" program that pays farmers to protect prairie potholes (depressions in the land that harbor nesting areas for ducks).

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• The Montana Land Reliance keeps large stretches of agricultural land from development through voluntary donations of conservation easements.

• Many private refuges protect birds and other species; some of these refuges pay for themselves by allowing oil or gas drilling.

• The Nature Conservancy's Pine Butte Preserve in Montana, which protects lowland habitat for the threatened grizzly bear, offsets expenses by providing "ecotourist" facilities for environmentalists. The managers of the preserve have actually created new habitat for the bear by burning grasslands in the spring to allow vegetation to grow and by planting chokecherries, a prized food of the grizzly.

Enforcement of the Endangered Species Act doesn't only cause problems on private land; it also causes government-owned lands to be mismanaged. For just as the mission of the ESA trumps all other goals on private land, so it trumps all other government agencies' goals, including the Forest Service's goal of harvesting timber for land-management purposes and lumber production. Agencies like the Forest Service must bend to the wishes of the Fish and Wildlife Service, just as private landowners do, even when less extreme actions could solve habitat problems equally well.

To correct this imbalance, some means of deciding how land should be managed is needed. One option is for the Fish and Wildlife Service to be required to compensate another federal agency whenever its commands reduce the ability of that agency to use land to pursue its own goals. But since all federal land is owned by taxpayers and its management overseen by Congress, another approach may be more feasible: the Fish and Wildlife Service could be required to go to Congress when it believes that a parcel of land managed by another agency is necessary to protect a listed species. Congress could explicitly debate the transfer of control over any sizable tract of federal land to Fish and Wildlife. In this way, the goals of all citizens could be considered, and a single goal would not automatically triumph in every case. Congressional debate could be triggered by the quantity of land the Fish and Wildlife Service wants to take over, with the control of any parcel over 100 acres perhaps requiring Congress's concurrence. (This process might also include appropriating compensation to the agency whose land is being seized.)

Another reform would enlist the help of private groups to protect endangered species on federal lands: federal laws could be changed to allow environmental groups to bid for the lease or purchase of federal lands in order to protect endangered-species habitat (or to pursue other environmental goals). Today, only someone planning to cut down timber can bid at Forest Service timber sales. It's actually illegal to purchase timber and then not harvest it. This law could be changed so that Defenders of Wildlife, the Wilderness Society, or some other group could bid for timber parcels and then leave them unlogged in order to preserve the habitat for some species. (Concerns over disease and fire control, however, would have to be addressed.)

STRONG EVIDENCE EXISTS THAT INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS WOULD TAKE ACTION ON THEIR OWN TO PROTECT SPECIES IF THE PENALTIES FOR OWNING VALUABLE HABITAT WERE REMOVED.

In short, any reform of the Endangered Species Act should aim to make endangered species the friend, not the enemy, of landowners, whether they be private citizens or government agencies. This can largely be accomplished just by ending the Fish and Wildlife Service's power to control land without compensation. Then landowners will no longer fear finding exotic plants and animals on their property, and the Fish and Wildlife Service will begin weighing its goals against other desirable goals and have an incentive to husband its resources, try new approaches, and establish priorities.

These much-needed reforms appear unlikely to come through the courts. The Supreme Court recently had a chance to set them in motion but declined, and so the ball passes to Congress. Through broad-ranging "takings" legislation, lawmakers could require that any reduction in property value that results from government action—such as restricting logging on Ben Cone's land—requires compensation from the agency that "takes away" that value. Or Congress could just amend the Endangered Species Act to require compensation for lost property use. That would give Congress an opportunity to specify the way in which the Fish and Wildlife Service should compensate landowners and encourage mutually beneficial land uses.

On public land, where other worth goals besides endangered-species protection should be considered, one approach would be to require some sort of interagency compensation. A more feasible way may be to let Congress decide which goal has priority whenever the Fish and Wildlife Service wants to control a significant amount of federal acreage in another agency's domain.

However they come about, these changes will end the tragic situation that now occurs when landowners learn they will lose their freedom to use their own land if they find endangered species on it. Only by respecting property rights will landowners and species both benefit.

Richard L. Stroup is senior associate at PERC, a Bozeman, Montana center that researches market solutions to environmental problems, and an economics professor at Montana State University. He previously directed the Office of Policy Analysis at the Department of the Interior.

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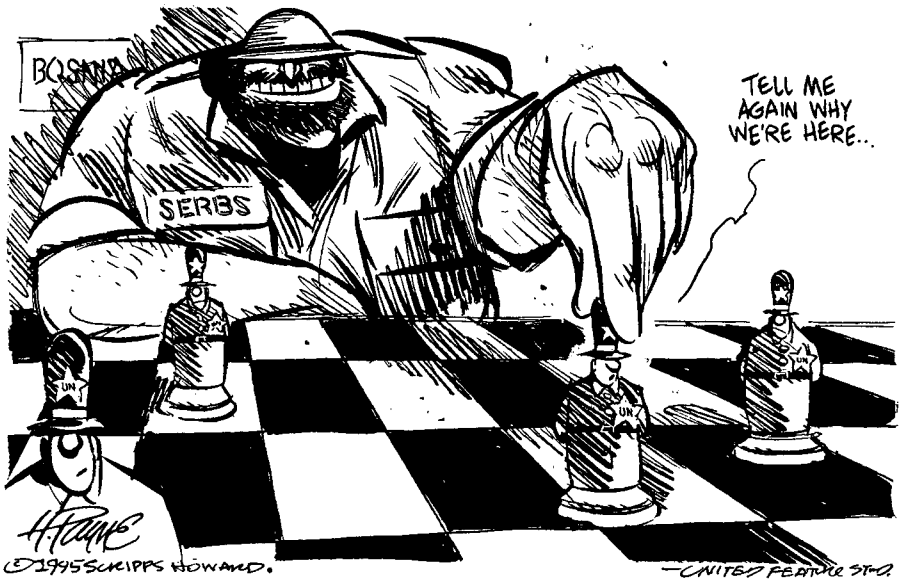
Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED
BEFORE YOU WERE BORN IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

Peacekeeping Forever



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To hear Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Tom Connally tell it, the only Americans opposed to ratification of the Charter of the United Nations in the summer of 1945 were a few shrill harridans whose preposterous belief was that "the charter would bring into being a world government" of which "the duke of Windsor was to be the world king."

Connally permitted the cranks a brief opportunity to testify before his committee, but treated them with ill-disguised contempt. The ladies were a spirited lot, given to fantastic predictions: they imagined that someday a president, without the consent of Congress, might send American soldiers on a U.N. "peacekeeping" mission halfway around the globe. The hysterical fear-mongers!

Mrs. Cecil Norton Broy, representing a 25-member study club of Arlington, Virginia, cautioned the senators against "the further disruption of normal American family life.... We would be working on the principle of scattering the most virile of our men over the face of the globe." Mrs. Elise French Johnston announced that she represented no group but was speaking "as a free-born American citizen exercising my right of appeal and protest." Connally snickered—the kooky old broad!—until La Johnston riposted, "This room with its marble walls—has it also marble ears?"

Mrs. Grace Keefe of the Women's League for Political Education in Chicago insisted: "The easy comparison of a world army with a local police force is sheer nonsense. A local policeman is called upon to act where an individual breaks existing law and the individual is held responsible for his crime. An international army or air force which moves in with bombers against helpless populations and indiscriminately burns, maims, and destroys is not an instrument of justice or law and order."

Pro-U.N. witnesses either ignored or patronized the dowdy antis. Livingston Hartley, director of the American Association for the United Nations, assured Senator Hiram Johnson, the California warhorse who had been Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose running mate in 1912, that the United States' contribution to U.N. occupation forces would be "very small," at most "a few thousand."

"If that did not suffice to put down the trouble, would you send a few thousand more?" Johnson asked.

Oh no, Hartley replied; recalcitrants would be cowed merely by the show of blue helmets, and if any were crazy enough to actually defy U.N. authority, well, it then became a simple matter of "mobilizing the machinery of war, the bombing planes, and the mechanized weapons." (Mr. Hartley was not, evidently, of Serbian ancestry.)

The committee reported the measure, and the ensuing floor "debate" was a dreamy lovefest of global harmony, disrupted only by a few spoilsports who kept adverting to the Constitution.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D-Mont.) predicted, "We are not going to send a police force to stop aggression by Russia...because Russia is not going to permit it to be done. We are only going to use such powers against the small and the weak nations who have not any friends and who are not satellites of some powerful nation."

One of the last of the classical liberals, Senator Robert Taft (R-Ohio), mused, "I cannot imagine anything more likely to bring about war than the attempt to intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations."

Enlightened opinion scoffed. So what if we "send a few tanks or a few ships or even men," asked Senator Claude Pepper (D-Fla.); "I am not one of those frightened by what some call a superstate." The patrician Leverett Salstonstall (R-Mass.) lectured his benighted cow-state colleagues that "one result of this smaller world is greater centralization of governmental authority"; the U.N., sighed the Brahmin, was just "another step" on the path to One World.

The charter was ratified by a vote of 89–2, the dissenting duad made up of "Wild Bill" Langer of North Dakota and Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota. "The control of the war power, as provided in the Constitution, must remain in the Congress if the United States is going to remain a republic," Shipstead bellowed to his chamber's marble ears.

Thus did these United States enter the United Nations, to the distress of a few old ladies who feared that someday a president and the U.N. Security Council would send American boys to exotic deathtraps with names like Mogadishu.

—Bill Kauffman

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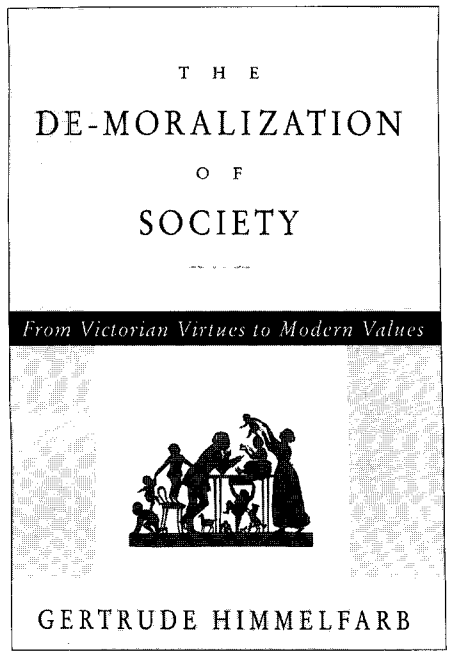

VICTORIAN PRINCIPLES

by Jean Bethke Elshtain

The De-moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values
By Gertrude Himmelfarb
(Knopf: New York) 314 pages, $24

It is easy to mock "the Victorians" as bringers of pleasure-quashing things. In this briskly written volume, the distinguished historian Gertrude Himmelfarb brings the much-derided Victorians into view for a fairer look. What comes into focus is a richer and far more complex story than the usual canards and epithets would have it. There is no single way to "be" Victorian, for Victorianism is a rather vast and messy thing, a large tent encompassing many different attitudes, tendencies, and enthusiasms.

But there is, according to Himmelfarb, a heart to this matter and it lies in the general direction of the Victorian virtues, or what we would now call "values," and diminish thereby. For a value is something relative—a price that can be compared with other prices—rather than a good in itself. Our current American debate is unsatisfactory, to Himmelfarb, in part because the terms of that debate are so reduced and so narrowly "problem-oriented." Thus, we agitate ourselves about abortion and illegitimacy, for example, but we do not place such matters, as the Victorians did, in a larger context "of character, conduct, and the social ethos." Himmelfarb gathers together those imperatives the Victorians called virtues. She knows we cannot recapture them in full. That era is gone and cannot return. But perhaps we can be instructed by the way the Victorians understood virtues.

According to Himmelfarb, widely shared virtues united rather than divided people across class lines: it wasn't just a matter of middle-class moralists imposing "their" values on the unsuspecting poor. If anything, the poor were even more strict in their commitment to the virtues—of respectability, hard work, reliability, cleanliness. Himmelfarb is right that many contemporary critics who push a crude "social control" thesis, one that sets up the poor as bamboozled victims of crafty and manipulating "betters," miss the boat. In fact, sharing the virtues was a strong first step toward political equality. By putting a premium on non-heroic virtues within everybody's reach, the Victorians democratized social life in often far-reaching ways. Their scrupulous attunement to what Hobbes called the "small manners" comes through with great clarity in Himmelfarb's discussion.

Women were central arbiters of the virtues, especially those virtues associated with domesticity. The home was "a place of worship." (This invited G. K. Chesterton's sharp description of the Victorians as the first generation that "asked its children to worship the hearth without the altar.") Although the paeans to family life do become a bit much, Himmelfarb convinces readers that the domestic arena was a vast and vital one.

Home was an educational institution, teaching children those virtues that would hold them in good stead as workers and parents. It was a site that elaborated a set of finely honed distinctions between the good provider and the cruel and irresponsible father who left his family in the lurch. Routine for working-class families was the father's turning over of his pay packet to his wife, who divided it up appropriately. Interviews conducted with working-class wives point to an ideal of a "life-long working partnership," a far cry from the brutal, patriarchal household that has become a standard trope in much feminist argumentation.

Turning her attention to the multisidedness of Victorian reform, Himmelfarb alerts us to the many, not terribly compatible, cross-currents in Victorian feminist agitation. We learn that some of the most distinguished women of the time refused to sign on with the suffrage cause. (George Eliot is surely *primus inter pares* here.) Others leapt into the fray with great enthusiasm. Still others placed transformation of working conditions for female laborers ahead of suffrage. The pervasiveness of class tension and conflict comes through as Himmelfarb lays bare dozens of measures aimed at alleviating or revolutionizing the condition of the "poor" and the "oppressed." Some reformers placed their hope in socialism; others in universal suffrage; yet others in an interlaced network of philanthropies.

We also learn that the Victorian era shared with our own a rush into moral panics—particularly surrounding "white slave markets" and other forms of traffic in flesh. This concern spawned a "social purity movement" called the National Vigilance Association for the Repression of Criminal Vice and Immorality, which campaigned against immoral books (Rabelais, Balzac, Zola), against immoral persons (prostitutes), and for sexual and so-

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cial hygiene. In our own society, such efforts would likely get mounted in and through various forms of feminist militance, and much of the rhetorical hyperbole and representation of the male as threatening sounds distressingly familiar.

A real accomplishment of Himmelfarb's book is the way it invites the reader to draw helpful parallels to United States history and our own movements for social reform and social hygiene. Himmelfarb's analysis of the blooming, buzzing confusion of reform initiatives during the Victorian age is complex and sympathetic. When she reaches the book's penultimate chapter, "De-Moralized Society," her prose grows somewhat more mobilized, her concerns more exigent. She believes we in the 1990s are in trouble as a society, and that we are doing either too little, or too much of the wrong stuff, in dealing with our problems. I will not repeat here the all-too familiar data on teen pregnancies and violence and the stunning murder rates for young men (especially African Americans), with the killers being other young men. Great numbers of young people are lost to society today. We know that nearly half of the longest-term welfare recipients started their families as unwed teenagers. Locked into a life of relative penury and limited possibility, their lives as parents and citizens are all too often "nasty, brutish, and short."

What, then, is to be done? And can the Victorians help us? In answer to the latter question, Himmelfarb says "no," at least not directly. But perhaps we can take a leaf or two from their notebook and at least beef up our vocabulary of ethical and moral engagement, of praise and blame. We seem to have fallen into massive denial that anything is going wrong in American society in any clearly discernible way. We no longer sin, we have syndromes: an evasion.

Himmelfarb winds up calling for a complex middle way. It isn't good enough to say that if failed "welfare policies are abandoned and the resources of the free market released, economic growth and incentives will break the cycle of dependency and produce stable families," she writes. Economic structure is important but that cannot be the entire truth, for it underestimates the moral and cultural dimensions of the problem." Himmelfarb puts these dimensions front and center, and reminds us that we must look to families, churches, communities, and voluntary associations to move us away from a narrowly therapeutic focus on "self-esteem" to a tougher-minded, less solipsistic focus on the ways individuals can both help themselves and serve others. This is what used to be called "doing one's duty," and it is Himmelfarb's call to non-violent arms.

If this be Victorianism, then make the most of it, she concludes. For if we do not tend to the ethos of our society, then we will be well and truly lost. In recalling an energetic age that has been much vulgarized and maligned, Himmelfarb helps history to stay alive and, just perhaps, to instruct the living.

Jean Bethke Elshtain is Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professor of Social and Political Ethics at the University of Chicago.

TERRIBLE TED

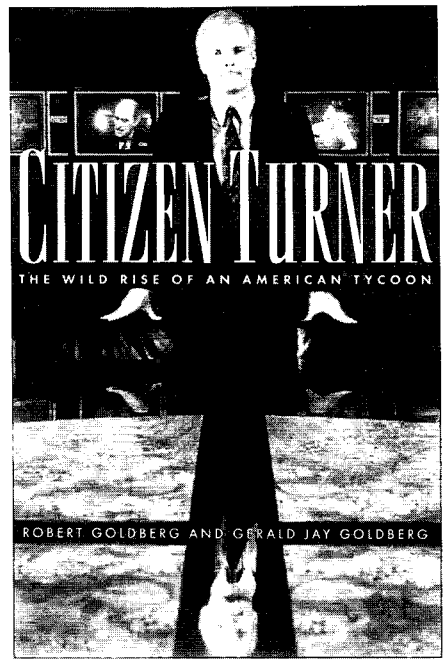
by Nick Gillespie

Citizen Turner: The Wild Rise of an American Tycoon
By Robert Goldberg and Gerald Jay Goldberg
(Harcourt Brace: New York) 504 pages, $27

Perhaps it was inevitable that a biography of Ted Turner would cast itself as a real-life retelling of *Citizen Kane.* The comparison between the founder of Cable News Network and Charles Foster Kane is too easy to pass up. Inevitable perhaps, but unfortunate all the same. *Citizen Turner: The Wild Rise of an American Tycoon,* by the father-son team of Gerald Jay and Robert Goldberg, is facile in its treatment and superficial in its insight. To be fair to the authors, the problem may rest with their subject and not their analysis.

Robert Edward "Ted" Turner is arguably the most innovative—and ubiquitous—media mogul of our time. He commands a personal fortune of between $2 and $3 billion and a televisual empire that includes TBS, CNN, TNT, the Cartoon Network, MGM's film library, Hanna-Barbera animation, Castle Rock Entertainment, baseball's Braves, and basketball's Hawks.

Like filmdom's most famous—and overreaching—fictional newsman Kane, Turner possesses a flamboyant personality—hence such nicknames as "Terrible Ted," "The Mouth of the South," and "Captain Outrageous." He also has the hubris to pontificate on any and all topics, from abortion to media violence to environmentalism.



Turner likewise recalls Kane in his gargantuan appetites, exuberant energy levels, and massive contradictions. A self-styled champion of "family entertainment," the thrice-married Turner was a shameless, boozy skirt-chaser who once grabbed CNN anchor Mary Alice Williams's crotch at a business party. A successful yachtsman (his crew won the America's Cup in 1977), Turner was known for shouting "Show me your tits!" whenever he passed a boat with pretty women on deck—this from a man who forbade his kids from watching R-rated movies. Throughout the '70s and '80s, Turner lambasted the major networks for "polluting minds" even as his own channels aired shows on the order of *World Championship Wrestling* and *Petticoat Junction.*

There's even a "Rosebud" lurking in Turner's past: the 1963 suicide of his distant, alcoholic father Ed when Ted was in his early 20s. Where Kane coped with the childhood loss of his sled by buying every-

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thing in sight (remember the detritus-packed Xanadu), Turner, the Goldbergs tell the reader, is driven by his father's posthumous taunts: "And after Ed died, his ghost continued to peer over Ted's shoulder—shoving him, prodding him, demanding to know 'Why in hell ain't you doin' any better?' "

The Goldbergs supplement the Kane angle with additional psychological analysis, but they ultimately do very little to illuminate Turner's specific triumphs and failures: How exactly did a guy whose first TV station ran only the FCC minimum of 40 minutes of news a day come up with the idea of an all-news network? In the Goldberg account, Turner comes off more as the unconvincing, unappealing protagonist of a badly written TV miniseries than, as the authors would have it, "some two-fisted Indiana Jones of the boardroom."

As I suggested earlier, this may not be entirely the Goldbergs' fault. They don't help matters with ham-handed lines such as, "Half visionary, half crackpot, and all-American character, Ted Turner is a genuine original," or "Using second-string producers, third-rate correspondents, and recycled network programming, [Turner] has gone about his task with a single-minded determination."

But beyond the Goldbergs' often-labored prose, Turner himself seems capable of only the most banal thoughts and insights. In the 1980s he became convinced that he would be shot by an assassin, and told his then-mistress what he would say to his killer: "Thanks for not coming sooner." At another point, he boasted to a reporter, "I want to set the all-time greatest personal-achievement record, greater than Alexander Graham Bell or Thomas Edison, Napoleon or Alexander the Great."

Or consider this deep conversation Turner reports having had with Fidel Castro in 1982: "After three drinks with rum... I said [to Castro] 'Are you interfereing in Nicaragua and Angola?' And he said, 'Yeah, you are, too.' I said, 'Yeah, but we're the United States. We've got every right to be there.' And he said, 'How come?' I said, 'Because we're right, we're capitalists. We've got a free country.' He said, 'Yeah, but what about people that don't agree with that?' I went back and scratched my head. I never even thought there was another side to the picture."

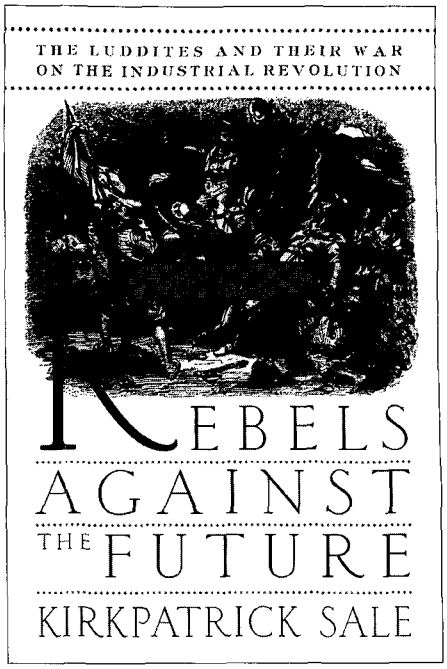
The secret shame of Ted Turner may be that, like much of the programming for which he became famous, he just isn't very smart or interesting. Indeed, by the end of *Citizen Turner,* the protagonist seems less reminiscent of Charles Foster Kane and more like another great fictional millionaire: Jay Gatsby. Turner, now in his fifties, has been spared Gatsby's tragic fate. But just as Gatsby turned out to be less real than imagined, so too does Turner seem unmasked as more shallow than deep.

Nick Gillespie is assistant editor of Reason.

SMASH YOUR MAINFRAME?

by Eric L. Marti

Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution—Lessons for the Computer Age
By Kirkpatrick Sale
(Addison-Wesley: Reading, Massachusetts)
320 pages, $24



To call someone a "Luddite" rarely confers a compliment; the term connotes ignorance, backward-thinking, a Neanderthal mind. Kirkpatrick Sale would like to change all that. His new book, *Rebels Against the Future,* recasts the original Luddites as moral heroes resisting what Sale views as the immiserating consequences of the Industrial Revolution. In a word, claims Sale, the Luddites were right.

But retelling the Luddite story is secondary to Sale's main purpose: to pronounce the utter failure and impending doom of industrial civilization and to sound a rallying cry for a "neo-Luddite" resurgence.

As readers may recall, the Luddites were mainly textile tradesmen in England's Midlands who smashed labor-saving machines and torched factories in the early 1810s. Operating as loosely affiliated paramilitary bands, they destroyed well over a thousand machines in just a few years.

Fearing a general uprising, the English government sent some 15,000 national troops into the midlands to quash the vandals. Dozens were arrested, some were executed, many were imprisoned or exiled to Australia. After 14 frame-breakers were publicly hanged en masse in January 1813, the attacks subsided; by 1817, Luddism had all but expired.

Sale portrays the Luddites not as ignorant, economically selfish thugs waging futile battle against progress, but rather as honorable craftsmen fighting to preserve a way of life: "The workers' grievance was not just about the machinery...but what the machinery stood for: the palpable, daily evidence of their having to succumb to forces beyond their control, beyond their power even to influence much, that were taking away their livelihoods and transforming their lives."

Sale's richly detailed, blow-by-blow account of specific events—Luddite attacks, government reactions—appears well-researched and uncontroversial. Far less reliable, however, is his critique of modern technological society, for which the Luddite episode is his springboard.

The Luddites are relevant, Sale argues, because a second Industrial Revolution—this one sparked by the computer—now forces on us a similar choice between resistance to technology or capitulation to a doomed future. Sale's indictment of technological society incorporates two main criticisms: 1) it produces economic and social maladies that ravage the human spirit and

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community, and 2) it destroys the environment. In this argument lie the book's greatest flaws: an extremely unbalanced assessment of data and an anti-humanist ideology that, in the end, invites authoritarianism.

As an indication of Sale's skewed view of the facts, consider his discussion of technology and job growth. He dismisses as "mythical" the idea that technology, while eliminating some jobs, produces more in the long run: "They simply have not appeared, except in those few industries still sustained by government boondoggles." But the data say otherwise: U.S. private-sector jobs grew at a pace far exceeding population growth throughout this century—a fact that can only be explained by the impact of technology. Granted, Sale has a point about boondoggles—but just imagine how many more jobs would be created if government didn't siphon away a quarter (or more) of gross domestic product every year.

Even less reliable is Sale's insistence that humans are driving the planet to ecological death. He argues his case by stitching together selected statistics—figures on deforestation, resource depletion, "overpopulation," etc. But Sale entirely neglects an enormous body of data—much of it assembled in journalist Gregg Easterbrook's recent tome *A Moment on the Earth*—that suggests a favorable environmental future for our planet.

Moreover, Sale slams industrialized societies—especially capitalist ones—as the world's worst ecological aggressors. But by many (if not most) measures, industrialized nations with market economies prove better stewards of their environments than technologically backward countries. As Third Worlders slash away rain forest to create new farmland, for example, the acreage of woodlands in the United States increases (thanks largely to private landowners, who plant over 3 million trees every day).

Sale also completely ignores the myriad ways in which technological improvements actually reduce environmental impacts. For example, Thomas Hine reports in his recent study of industrial design *The Total Package:* "Capital-intensive American farming gets more than twice as much food per unit of fossil fuels than does labor-intensive China, largely because of packaging that keeps food from spoiling on the way to the consumer."

But one senses that no amount of evidence could modify Sale's evangelism. At bottom, Sale rejects industrial civilization on ideological—perhaps even theological—grounds: "Anthropocentrism, and its expression in both humanism and monotheism, is the ruling principle of that civilization, to which must be opposed the principle of biocentrism and the spiritual identification of the human with all living species and systems."

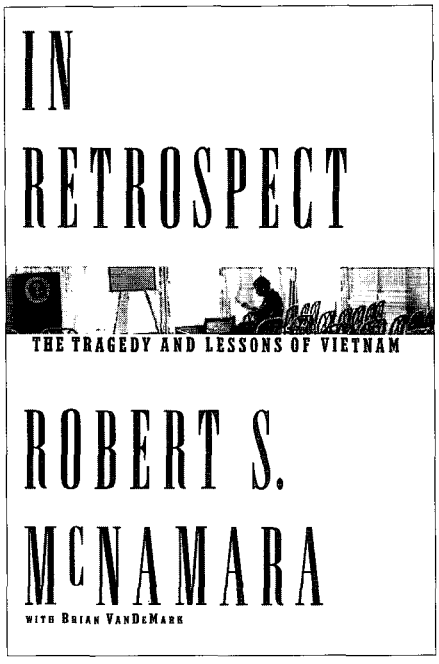
Sale's world view posits an artificial, human-centered "technosphere" that is speeding along a collision course with nature's "biosphere." Cataclysm is all but certain: "If the edifice of industrial civilization does not eventually crumble as a result of a determined resistance within its very walls, it seems certain to crumble of its own accumulated excesses and instabilities within not more than a few decades, perhaps sooner, after which there may be space for alternative societies to arise."

Exactly how Sale would prefer such societies be ordered, this book does not say. But we should ask, in a world where people must "fashion their technology with the restraints and obligations of nature intertwined," what role would the state play? Sale hopes for the "resurrection and re-empowerment of small bioregions and coherent communities, having control over their own political and economic destinies." Yet one shudders to imagine the ranks of commissars required to define "the restraints and obligations of nature," and to police the inventions of the new-world citizenry.

To judge Sale's arguments flawed and his conclusions invalid is not to dismiss completely his concerns: technology can impose costs on third parties—for example, polluting the air diminishes others' use of this resource. Automation does eliminate jobs for some, and those with outmoded skills suffer. Industrialization admittedly plays a role in breeding anomie and social disaffection. And even while it bestows benefits on individuals, technology can also abet government growth and erosion of personal autonomy.

These worries are real. But they require far subtler analyses than Sale's ideological blinders permit him. Kirkpatrick Sale may sincerely wish for a world of harmonious existence. His book, however, does not bring us closer to it.

Eric L. Marti owns a computer-related small business in Northern California.



WHO'S SORRY NOW?

by Mark Lagon

In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam
By Robert S. McNamara with Brian VanDeMark
(Times Books: New York) 414 pages, $27.50

Norman Podhoretz concluded his book *Why We Were in Vietnam* by characterizing "the American effort to save Vietnam from communism" as a struggle "whose moral soundness has been overwhelmingly vindicated by the hideous consequences of our defeat." Indeed, the emergence in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos of particularly virulent forms of communism would seem to have verified the domino theory and the nobility of the struggle based on it.

The defense secretary who first implemented America's defensive effort in Southeast Asia, however, comes to a completely different conclusion in his introspective if overexposed memoir, *In Retrospect.* In ex-

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amining the death toll, the economic impact of financing the war, and political divisions created in American society, McNamara asks, "Were such costs justified?" About those who defend the domino theory, he says, "I seriously question such judgments."

McNamara apologizes—there is no other word for it—for the effort to save Vietnam, but for the wrong reasons. While the moral soundness of the cause can be justified, how President Johnson and McNamara went about "saving" Vietnam was a real problem.

The failure of the Vietnam effort resulted from a type of rationalism that McNamara personified:

• His stewardship of the Ford Motor Company produced the Edsel.

• His supervision of the Pentagon not only led to the Vietnam debacle, but shaped the nuclear doctrine that encouraged targeting population centers to create a defenseless balance of terror.

• His directorship of the World Bank led to a shift from teaching poor nations how to fish to *giving* them fish based on a doctrine of "basic human needs."

• In his subsequent role as *éminence grise* he co-authored high-profile tracts on disarmament, most notably the startlingly stupid proposal in *Foreign Affairs* to abandon the pledge to go nuclear first in the event of a Warsaw Pact invasion of western Europe, the very centerpiece of NATO policy.

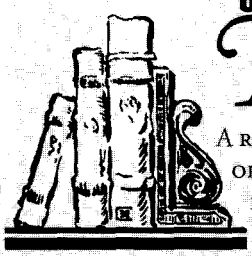
In every phase of his career trajectory, he exhibited a management mentality based on supreme confidence that tinkering by elite minds could help perfect human existence. Alas, this memoir does not tie the Vietnam debate to McNamara's other failures or recognize the disastrous effects of rationalism one can trace throughout his life.

The book fails to identify the crux of the problem in Vietnam as well. As historian John Gaddis argues, McNamara's military doctrine of "flexible response," premised upon the ability to manage incremental escalation in competition with the Soviets and their surrogates, needed a test case. And Vietnam was it.

Johnson and McNamara pursued consciously limited military means in Vietnam: the United States would not invade North Vietnam directly, bomb Hanoi, or trespass into Cambodia and Laos, sanctuary states where the Vietcong guerrillas regrouped and were resupplied. The goal was not clear victory, but "nation-building" in South Vietnam.

McNamara helped create a Republican legacy. Since Vietnam, Republicans have embraced a doctrine calling for abundant military capabilities, infrequent intervention, and clear goals and use of overwhelming force when intervention is necessary. This formula was most clearly articulated by Caspar Weinberger in a 1984 speech to the National Press Club.

Republicans who invoke this formula today are sometimes called "isolationists" by Clintonites and certain journalists, unjustifiably in my judgement. The for-



off The Shelf

A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVERLOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

CALVIN AT SEA

by Paul Gottfried

Herman Melville put the finishing touches on *Billy Budd* several months before his death, in the fall of 1891. After a series of literary fiascos, which forced him to find employment as a New York City customs inspector in 1866, Melville, in his twilight years, turned to a profoundly personal kind of writing. His best known work, *Moby Dick* (1851), had visited such themes as destructive passions and human self-deception. In his seventies, Melville returned to these and other grim subjects with a new intensity.

His later years were particularly trying. Both of his sons had died at early ages, and it was only a modest inheritance that his wife received in 1885 that saved him and his family from continued financial embarrassment. Even at his professional height, in the 1850s, Melville had never achieved more than mixed reviews and merely respectable sales of his books. An obituary in the *New York Press* made the pointed observation: "Probably if the truth were known, even his own generation had long thought him dead, so quiet have been the later years of his life."

In point of fact, those years had not been quiet, judging by Melville's authorial energy. In *Billy Budd* he testified to the persistence of that energy by presenting one last time his gloomy meditations on human existence. The characterizations here may be what readers remember best; and notwithstanding the misrepresentations perpetrated by Peter Ustinov in a deservedly forgotten movie, the central figures cannot be reduced to cardboard political types. What the novella is about is not a trendy protest against authority, but a struggle between a compromised good and evil that must take place in a fatally flawed world.

And there is no doubt that Melville believed in the radical imperfection of the world with all the conviction of his Calvinist ancestors. Biblical images abound in *Billy Budd,* as they do in *Moby Dick;* the dramatis personae sailing on the *H.M.S. Indomitable*—Captain Edward Vere, the impressed foretopman Billy Budd, and Master-at-Arms John Claggart—all correspond to mythic and Christian prototypes. Budd radiates a Christlike innocence. Until his unhappy end he goes on revering the figure responsible for his death; his execution by hanging leaves him as one crucified on the mast and surrounded by clouds resembling the "fleece of the Lamb." Claggart, whom Budd slays accidentally after being falsely accused by him, is depicted as evil "by nature."

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eign policy "clause" of the Contract with America (the House National Security Revitalization Act) embodied the new Republican position. It calls for greater defense capabilities along with more judicious application of those capabilities—requiring a congressional role in judging, for instance, whether intervention billed as "peacekeeping" actually serves American interests.

Amazingly, the Clinton administration has adopted the inverse: more limited defense capabilities and more expansive use of force in the service of unclear goals. This combination is manifestly less prudent than the Weinberger formula.

One of McNamara's "whiz kid" protégés at the Pentagon was Les Aspin, whose forte was manipulation of numbers to satisfy McNamara's desire for quantitative justifications for his rationalist tinkering. Aspin was the principal implementer of Clinton's policy in Somalia. He refused to send sufficient firepower to protect the Rangers who were ultimately killed in Mogadishu in the autumn of 1993. That phase of the Somalia operation, under Security Council Resolution 814, was aimed at nation-building. Self-imposed limitations on military capabilities and nation-building as the goal—sound familiar? Aspin was carrying on in the tradition of his mentor.

Robert McNamara is finally getting his comeuppance. The publication of this mea culpa has led conservatives *and* liberals to criticize him—often in vitriolic terms.

Despite the rich detail in this memoir devoted to repentance, McNamara still doesn't get it. As the final item in a list of errors made in Vietnam, he writes:

> Underlying many of these errors lay our failure to organize the top echelons of the executive branch to deal effectively with the extraordinarily complex range of political and military issues...associated with the application of military force under substantial constraints over a long period of time.

McNamara writes of constraints as if he and Johnson were not themselves responsible for constraining the use of force when they had substantial public support for stopping communism in Vietnam, and the only alternative he recognizes is one of even greater contraint. But pulling out of Vietnam in the 1963–1965 period was hardly, as McNamara suggests, the only or best alternative to the way the war was actually conducted by the Johnson White House.

So while McNamara repents, he does not recognize his true sins. Sins of rationalism. Sins the Clinton administration—headed by and filled with Vietnam doves—has been ironically inclined to repeat again and again.

Mark Lagon is a research associate at the American Enterprise Institute and author of The Reagan Doctrine.

Melville invests this malicious informer with unmistakably diabolic qualities. Captain Vere (whose name signifies truth) exemplifies the severe heavenly father. He follows legal forms as one driven by them; and he suppresses any trace of human feelings when he urges the tribunal charged with judging the case to sentence Budd to death after the killing of Claggart. Vere steels himself for the occasion, despite his affection for the soon-to-be-condemned Budd.

Billy Budd drips with sarcasm, to the point of justifying the charge made by one New Left critic that Melville was a "conservative nihilist." The events in the novella unfold several months after the cataclysmic Nore Mutiny naval rebellion, of 1797, a background that explains Vere's cruel tenacity in demanding the death sentence for Budd. Though the death caused by Budd was accidental and certainly provoked, Vere insists that a pedantic regard for the law is required in view of their "uncertain" situation. That uncertainty, which necessitated harsh discipline, came from the embers of rebellion that British naval officers still perceived in the wake of the great mutiny.

It may seem poetic justice that the stern patriarch should subsequently die battling the French revolutionary ship *Athéiste.* Vere's agitated last words, it turns out, are "Billy Budd, Billy Budd." Then, too, the tribunal that sentences Budd is made into an object of ridicule. Melville compares it to "a congregation of believers in hell listening to the clergyman's announcement of his Calvinistic text." Nor does Budd escape Melville's criticism entirely. Though his fellow-seamen treat a chip of the mast from which he was hanged as "a piece of the true cross," at times Budd does behave ludicrously, as "a muscle-bound simpleton who turns into a good-natured victim." This renders problematic the deliberate and repeated comparisons between him and Christ. Though both are shown to be innocent victims of cruelty, the parallel cannot be pushed farther without having it collapse. What does the character of Christ have in common with that of an amiable fool?

The point, however, is that Melville is sketching two characters partaking of both positive and negative qualities. This is as true for Vere as it is for Budd.

The brutally insensitive Vere dies defending his country against a dangerous armed foe. His ship triumphs, metaphorically and physically, against a vessel "proclaiming the infidel audacity" of France's revolutionary empire. Political theorist Hannah Arendt read *Billy Budd* as an agonized defense of political authority and "lasting institutions." Melville's revulsion for the French Revolution and for sweeping social projects allowed him to accept, albeit reluctantly, the less demonic arbitrariness of established authority. He feared a world in which the social experimenters would run riot without the forces of deference and political restraint. Those looking for a message of social hope will not find it in *Billy Budd.*

Paul Gottfried's books include The Conservative Movement *(1993).*

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Authors

LITERARY LIVES BY FLORENCE KING

Molly Ivins, Plagiarist

Most liberals sneer, grate, whine, scream, and picket, but Molly Ivins chuckles wisely and smiles tiredly so everyone will regard her as a lovable cynic.

The Texas columnist describes herself as "a left-wing, aging-Bohemian journalist, who never made a shrewd career move, never dressed for success, never got married, and isn't even a lesbian, which at least would be interesting." Actually her professional Good Ole Girl number is far more interesting than mere lesbianism. An occasional guest commentator on the *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour,* she bellies up to the gourmet crackerbarrel and delivers laid-back wisdom with the serenity of a down-home Buddha who has discovered that stool softeners really work. Watching her go through her paces is like watching Ona Munson, who played Belle Watling in *Gone With the Wind,* doing an imitation of Spencer Tracy playing Clarence Darrow in *Inherit the Wind.* That's a lot of wind.

Besides her newspaper column, Ivins writes for *Ms., Mother Jones, The Progressive, Rolling Stone,* and *The Nation.* This has given her enough material for two collections: *Molly Ivins Can't Say That, Can She?* (named for the incensed Dallas advertisers who tried to censor her), and *Nothin' But Good Times Ahead.*

She rounds up the usual sentiments. On guns: "Ban the damn things. Ban them all." On bilingualism: "It's racist for any Texas reporter south of Lubbock not to be able to speak Spanish." Cutting capital gains is "the dumbest kind of tax subsidy to conspicuous consumption." Pat Buchanan's 1992 GOP convention speech "probably sounded better in the original German," and gays move her to trite Freudianism: "Hating them seems to be a function of being afraid that you might be one yourself."

She's funny on the Texas legislature's mangled English ("Disperse with the objections"), but she ruins it with an earnest tribute to Barbara Jordan, who, being black and female, gets credit for "eloquence." Jordan actually took her oratorical pretensions from the Saxon Witenagemot, which is why she sounds like Alfred the Great with lockjaw.

Ivins' own English ranges from politically correct ("yeoperson") to Texanese ("bidness" for business, "Meskin" for Mexican) to hokeynyms ("our foundin' daddies were about the smartest sumbitches ever walked"). She scatters the text with "Sheesh!" and "Well, poop!" and lots of "y'alls," and practices multiculturalism complete with Yiddish misspellings ("the *pièce de résistance* of the whole schmear").

She also knows how to gild a lily, as I discovered in the following passage:

> In her definitive work, *Southern Ladies and Gentlemen,* Florence King observes, "The cult of southern womanhood…requires [a female] to be frigid, passionate, sweet, bitchy, animated, and scatterbrained all at the same time.... A horrifying number of us succeed, which accounts for that popular southern female pastime, having a nervous breakdown."

The passage as I wrote it reads: "She is required to be frigid, passionate, sweet, bitchy, and scatterbrained—all at the same time. Her problems spring from the fact that she succeeds." Add a l'il more on there, honey, give the folks they money's worth.

This tarted-up quotation from my 1975 book appears in Ivins' 1988 *Mother Jones* article, "Magnolias and Moonshine." My name is strewn through this article, but never where it counts. She credits me on minor observations, but when the subject is politics—her turf—she plagiarizes me.

IVINS: "Keep in mind that Southerners are so conservative they voted for Franklin Roosevelt, so isolationist they voted for Richard Nixon, so populist they voted for Barry Goldwater, so aristocratic they voted for George Wallace, and that they see nothing peculiar in any of this."

SHE CREDITS ME ON MINOR OBSERVATIONS, BUT WHEN THE SUBJECT IS POLITICS—HER TURF—SHE PLAGIARIZES ME.

KING: "The typical Southerner:

—Brags about what a conservative he is and then votes for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

—Or brags about what an isolationist he is and then votes for Richard Nixon.

—Or brags about what a populist he is and then votes for Barry Goldwater.

—Or brags about what an aristocrat he is and then votes for George Wallace.

—And is able to say with a straight face that he sees nothing peculiar about any of the above."

IVINS: "The Southern passion for military service first astonished the rest of the country in 1898, when Southerners signed up in droves to avenge the *Maine.* It was the country's first war since Appomattox, and for 33 years Yankees had questioned Southern loyalty."

KING: "In 1898, the phenomenon that surprised Americans nearly as much as the explosion of the battleship *Maine* was the vast number of Southern men who answered the call to the colors. It was America's first war since Appomattox, and Southern loyalty had been in question for 33 years."

Danged if this don't remind me of an old left-wing quotation: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

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AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER

The Washington Times

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

April 17 – 23, 1995

$2.50

Coalition to offer 'Contract' for families

By Larry Wilhan and Laurie Kellman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Christian Coalition, the nation's largest political coalition of religious conservatives, will deliver a "Contract With the American Family" to Congress when it returns from the Easter recess.

"The surveying is in the final stages, and we think we'll have something in a week or two," said coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed in a telephone interview. "We will present it to Congress when they get back."

In a speech to 150 students at Kennesaw State College in Atlanta on April 11,Mr. Reed outlined seven points that he called "the gist" of what a final document might contain.

That same day House Speaker Newt Gingrich was being feted at a banquet across town.

The Reed speech came after a massive mailing by the Christian Coalition in February and March to solicit priorities for social reform and raise money to pay for a survey of 2 million "Christian voters."

Sen. Bob Dole, left, accepts a "key to the state" from Gov. George Pataki, center, and Sen. Alfonse D'Amato after speaking at a fundraiser April 10 in New York.

Dole decries assaults on values

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DES MOINES, Iowa - Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole accused the entertainment industry of poisoning the minds of American youth while government assaults the values and moral codes taught in churches public schools would go far toward restoring a moral society.

"Voluntary prayer is forbidden in our classrooms," he told more than 1,000 people in the atrium of the state Capitol. "The moral codes we nurture in our churches and synagogues is under attack from our government. We need our schools to once again reflect the Americans.Mr. Dole said, "One of the most alarming aspects of government intrusiveness has been the assault it has waged on our values."

At campaign stops on April 11 in Columbus, Ohio, and Des Moines, Mr. Dole railed against the entertainment industry.

"Every parent knows," Mr. Dole

Pattern seen as defections continue

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The growing list of Democratic defections to the GOP is sending shock waves through the Democratic Party's leadership, which fears further congressional losses in 1996 and beyond.

Democratic officials deny the desertions are part of a long-term political realignment favoring Republicans.But some Democratic strategists and rank-and-file activists think it's going to get worse for the Democrats before it gets better.

"Yes, it's going to get worse. It's going to go on for a while.You're going to see some more switches by some of these fellows who want to stay in office and who think that changing parties is the way to do

Rep. Nathan Deal

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Edited by Martin Morse Wooster

the Digest

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

POLITICS

Artificial Intelligence

William T. Lee, CIA Estimates of Soviet Military Expenditures: Errors and Waste. *AEI Press, 1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036. 226 pages, $15.*

Now that the United States has triumphed over the Soviet Union in the Cold War, it's time to re-examine how the conflict was fought, in order to be better prepared for future struggles.

William Lee, a retired intelligence analyst, looks at one vital piece of the battle—the CIA's estimates of Soviet military expenditures. To create their estimates, the CIA constructed a giant economic model called SCAM—an acronym that, while still classified, probably stands for something like "Soviet Cost Accounting Method." Over 30 years, Lee estimates, the CIA spent between $5 and $10 billion (in constant 1990 dollars) on SCAM. And this huge sum, Lee argues, was mostly wasted.

SCAM operated by multiplying the quantity of Soviet weapons times their price. But intelligence analysts were able to supply very few prices and only slightly more quantities. Thus SCAM had to multiply inaccurate price guesses by quantity conjectures, and as a consequence created imaginary numbers that both underestimated the size and strength of the Soviet military and overestimated the strength of the Soviet economy. CIA experts thus did not foresee the economic stagnation and malaise among frustrated consumers that was one cause of the USSR's demise.

In the future, Lee concludes, intelligence analysts ought to rely less on complex estimations and high-tech hardware, and more on unclassified and easily accessible reports. And given the CIA's massive failure with SCAM, Congress ought to closely scrutinize that agency and ask if we should have the intelligence agencies that currently exist. "We will continue to need a Central Intelligence Agency," he concludes, "but we surely will not need the CIA as presently constituted."

ECONOMICS

Workplace Meddling

Cameron D. Reynolds and Morgan O. Reynolds, "State Court Restrictions on the Employment-at-Will Doctrine," in Regulation *(No. 1, 1995), Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20001.*

For most of American history, employers were free to fire their employees for any reason whatever. Most states followed an 1884 Tennessee Supreme Court decision, which stated that "men must be left without interference to…discharge or retain employees at will for good cause or for no cause, or even for bad cause, without thereby being guilty of an unlawful act."

But in recent years, report attorney Cameron Reynolds and economist Morgan Reynolds (Texas A & M University), this doctrine of "employment-at-will" is being seriously eroded. State courts have allowed two major exceptions to the employment-at-will doctrine: firing that violates matters of "public policy," such as serving in the military, going to a political convention, or serving on a jury; and firing that violates "good faith" and "fair dealing," vague phrases that canny employment lawyers can interpret to their profit. Only Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi remain employment-at-will states.

Arbitrary restrictions on firing often retard job growth, as employers hire temporaries or independent contractors rather than face expensive lawsuits. RAND economists Jim Dertouzos and Lynn Karoly found that states that made it harder to dismiss workers tended to have to hire workers 2 percent less often than states with employment-at-will doctrines, with the employment decline being largest among states allowing workers to collect damages for wrongful dismissal.

In some states, employers have been able to counteract the courts by making workers sign contracts saying their employment is at-will before they are hired. Rather than establishing "elaborate worker protection regimes," the authors argue, courts should allow employers and employees to strike their own bargains without unnecessary state interference.

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What Increases Job Safety?
John Hood, "OSHA's Trivial Pursuit," in Policy Review *(Summer 1995), Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002.*

In September 1991, when a fire swept through an Imperial Foods chicken plant in Hamlet, North Carolina, killing 25 and injuring 56, there were loud clamors for more punitive workplace safety regulation. But one reason the Imperial Foods workers couldn't flee was because the exit doors were padlocked by order of a U.S. Department of Agriculture poultry inspector who complained that he had found "several flies in all areas of the plant." Though Imperial Foods should certainly have done a better job in maintaining the aging plant, argues Hood, a Heritage Foundation fellow, "heavy-handed government regulation was also partly responsible" for the large death toll.

The Imperial Foods incident, according to Hood, raises a broad question. Why should the federal government—and, in particular, the Department of Labor's Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA)—be involved in safety inspections in the first place? Especially since OSHA "has accomplished virtually nothing for American workers except burden their employers with regulations."

Federal inspections, Hood notes, have had very little effect on workplace safety trends. Between the 1930s and 1993, the rate of people accidentally dying on the job fell from 15.8 to 3.5 workers per 100,000—but the passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act in 1970 had no effect on this reduction in death rates, with fatalities falling no faster after the act's passage than before.

The market, on the other hand, provides powerful incentives for employers to make their plants more safe. Researchers have shown that workers demand an average of $1,000 a year more from companies with hazardous facilities than comparable firms with safer ones, and that safety measures are less expensive than raising wages. In addition, insurers sharply boost premiums for corporations with large numbers of accidents, thus providing incentive for safety.

OSHA, Hood concludes, costs businesses millions of dollars for pointless and ineffective measures. He calls on Congress to "rethink the need for federal government involvement" in workplace safety.

Free Trade's Bounty
Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries 1995. *World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433. 67 pages.*

The recently concluded Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was protracted and complex. But for the world's consumers, the World Bank argues, the GATT talks should result in lower prices, substantially lower tariffs, and worldwide economic growth that will particularly benefit the Third World.

Under the GATT agreement, tariffs in manufactured goods will fall by 40 percent in industrial countries and 28 percent in developing countries. In addition, goods admitted into GATT nations duty-free will rise from 20 to 43 percent of global imports.

Particularly beneficial is the abolition of the Multifiber Agreement, which allowed developed countries to arbitrarily impose quotas or heavy tariffs on textile exports. The World Bank predicts that the freer textile market will, by 2005, boost the North American economy by $29.3 billion and the European Union's by $27.6 billion (in 1992 dollars).

Also important are lowered tariffs on services. Historically, economists have argued that services can't be exported. (You can't ship haircuts overseas.) But the dramatically falling costs of data transmission mean that some services can be performed anywhere. American Airlines reservation offices are in Barbados, where the 1,100 clerks make the airline Barbados's biggest corporate employer.

Regulatory barriers to international services trade, the World Bank argues, need to be lowered. State monopolies (particularly in telecommunications) need to be opened to competition, and arbitrary licensing restrictions should be eased substantially. Once these hurdles are removed, the World Bank estimates, developing-world service exports could double from their current level of $160 billion, providing good jobs at good wages to countries that badly need them, and inexpensive purchases for Western consumers.

Radio and the Internet
Todd Lappin, "Déjà Vu All Over Again," in Wired *(May 1995), 520 Third Street, Fourth Floor, San Francisco, California 94107.*

When radio was first commercialized, writes UC Berkeley student Todd Lappin, it was, like today's computer networks, "a truly interactive medium"; most radio operators were hams trying to talk to one another. But then the radio waves became commercialized and regulated. Where in 1921 only five radio stations were commercial operations, by 1923 there were 576. In 1922, AT&T proposed a nationwide system of "toll broadcasting," where anyone could pay $40 for a 15-minute slot to say whatever they wanted. The result: the first radio commercial. In 1923, AT&T invented "chain broadcasting," offering simultaneous broadcast of shows to New York, Providence, and South Dartmouth, Massachusetts. This was the first network.

In 1924, Congress passed the Radio Act, which created the predecessor of the Federal Communications Commission and the system of issuing licenses that is still used today. RCA bought a New York station for $1 million and used it as the nucleus for the National Broadcasting Company (created in 1926), followed shortly thereafter by the Columbia Broadcasting System (created in 1927).

Today, Lappin argues, online computer networks are in a stage analogous to radio before NBC, CBS, or extensive government licensing. Will computer counterparts of the three major television

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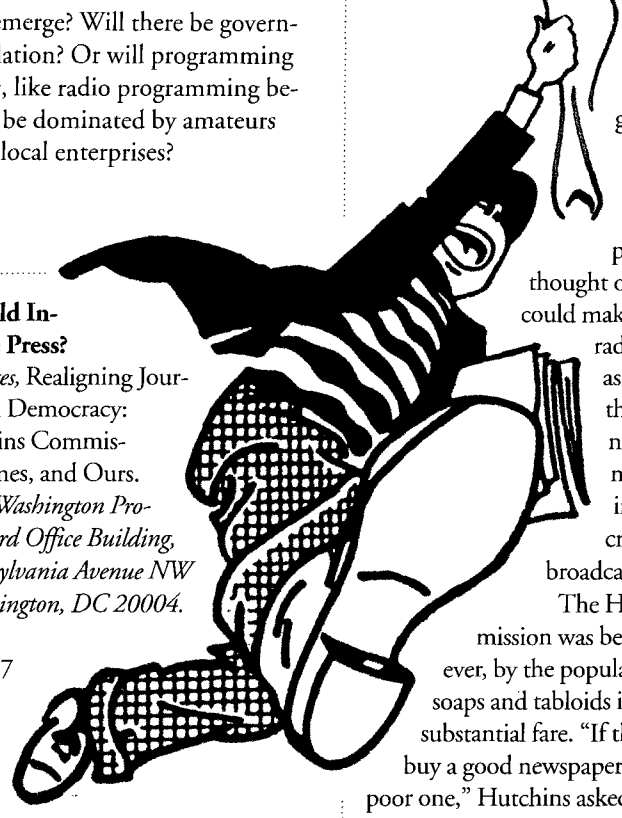
networks emerge? Will there be government regulation? Or will programming on the Net, like radio programming before 1924, be dominated by amateurs and small, local enterprises?

SOCIETY

Who Should Influence the Press?
Stephen Bates, Realigning Journalism with Democracy: The Hutchins Commission, Its Times, and Ours. *Annenberg Washington Program, Willard Office Building, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue NW #200, Washington, DC 20004.*



The 1947 Commission on the Freedom of the Press, known as the Hutchins Commission after its chairman, University of Chicago president Robert Maynard Hutchins, was a serious attempt to regulate from the left what journalists say and do. The nearly forgotten commission's report, observes Annenberg Washington Program senior fellow Bates, ought to be better known.

The commission—which included such eminent American liberals as historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, and Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish—was exercised by the populist turn America's newspaper industry had taken over the previous two decades, and argued that the biases of the press could only be corrected through government controls. Macy's chairman Beardsley Ruml proposed creating a federal agency similar to the Federal Communications Commission that would deny newspapers the legal benefits of incorporation unless they followed its dictates. Political scientist Harold Lasswell was even more radical, suggesting newspapers should be required to carry "a page that would be centrally edited by a government commission."

Ultimately, the commissioners decided that a non-profit news council would be the best way to ensure that the press was doing its job. They also called for universities to produce documentaries and radio programs. "A chain of educational FM stations could put before the public the best thought of America and could make many present radio programs look as silly as they are," the commission noted. These arguments were used in later years to create public broadcasting.

The Hutchins Commission was bewildered, however, by the popular preference for soaps and tabloids instead of more substantial fare. "If the people will not buy a good newspaper and will buy a poor one," Hutchins asked, at one point, "what is a businessman to do?" His answer: publishers should train the public to enjoy more complex articles, or "else go into another business." This was deemed elitist and impractical by the publishers of the day, whose resistance ensured that the commission's recommendations were ignored.

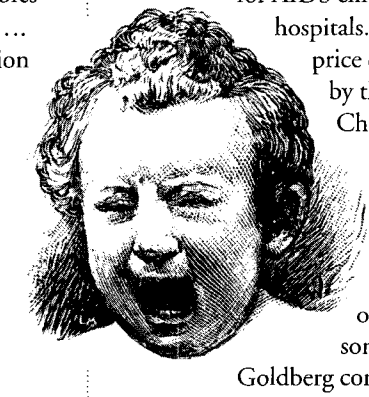
The irony, Bates points out, is that today's journalists, with their advanced degrees and their hunger for political influence, are more like the Hutchins Commission mandarins than their populist forerunners in the nation's newsrooms. "Journalists of the 1990s," he concludes, "are becoming what journalists of the 1940s reviled: backstage activists, professional experts, undemocratic elitists.... The men of the Hutchins Commission would be pleased."

Costly Free Vaccines
Robert M. Goldberg, "The Politics of Crisis, Failure, and Guilt: The Tragedy of the Vaccines for Children Program." Paper presented at an American Enterprise Institute conference, March 20, 1995.

When Congress passed the Clinton administration's new free-vaccine-for-children entitlement, states Brandeis University scholar Robert Goldberg, it was presented with bad information. Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala, for example, testified that immunization rates among America's children were under 60 percent. But Shalala based this statement on 1986 data from the Centers for Disease Control; 1992 data from CDC mentioned obliquely by Shalala in her testimony showed that the rate was actually 83 percent.

The Clinton administration, aided by allies at the Children's Defense Fund, argued that poor parents didn't vaccinate their children because they couldn't afford high vaccine prices. But Bernard Guyer and associates reported in *Pediatrics* in 1994 that despite Medicaid payments, free vaccine, and available pediatricians, the vaccination rate among low-income Baltimore children remained low because parents wouldn't make appointments to get the shots. Demonstration projects by the CDC and Maryland's Department of Human Resources show that parents are more likely to get vaccinations if the department warns that benefits provided under the government WIC program will be cut if children remain unvaccinated.

Despite this evidence, the administration is claiming that the Vaccines for Children program is working and needs more money; they wish to raise federal spending on vaccines from $540 million in fiscal year 1994 to $1.3 billion by fiscal year 1997, making the program "the fastest growing entitlement in history." But in order to pay for this free vaccine, Medicare was cut, and states have reduced spending for AIDS clinics and charity hospitals. In addition, the price controls imposed by the Vaccines for Children program have discouraged research, and severely reduced venture capital for biotechnology firms. The lesson of the episode, Goldberg concludes, is that entitlements launched under "the rhetoric of crisis, failure, and guilt" are likely "to do more harm than good."



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Mob Rule is Over

Peter Reuter, "The Decline of the American Mafia," in The Public Interest *(Summer 1995), 1112 16th Street NW #530, Washington, DC 20036.*

Twenty years ago the American Mafia was a feared group who kept tight control of America's criminal rackets. But today, argues Reuter, a University of Maryland criminologist, "the Mafia is almost extinguished as a major actor in the criminal world."

Among the reasons the American mafia has declined include:

- *Changes in urban government.* The Mafia was linked to big-city urban machines, particularly in Chicago, Newark, N.J., Boston, and Kansas City. As these machines have fallen, Mafia influence has lessened.
- *Declining unions.* Many of the unions where the Mafia once dominated have undergone severe declines in membership.
- *Tougher federal law enforcement.* Criminal activities like loan sharking, extortion, and drug dealing have become federal crimes in the past two decades, and longer federal sentences have undercut the oath of *omerta* (silence) and made mobsters far more eager to inform on their colleagues than in the past. Over 100 Mafiosi are in witness protection programs today compared to just a handful 10 years ago.
- *Foreign rivals.* The Mafia has steadily lost ground to Colombian, Vietnamese, and Chinese gangs who now dominate the global heroin and cocaine markets. These gangs are more efficient than the Mafia, more ruthless, and more impervious to penetration by law enforcement.

The Mafia's decline, Reuter concludes, is not entirely good news for U.S. police forces, since the heirs to the Sicilian mob are far less orderly. The post-Mafia criminal landscape will be "a more complicated world of many less well-known gangs."

OTHER COUNTRIES

Free South Africa

Sophie Pedder, "South Africa : The Joys of Normality," in The Economist *(May 20, 1995), 25 St. James Street, London SW1A 1HG, United Kingdom.*

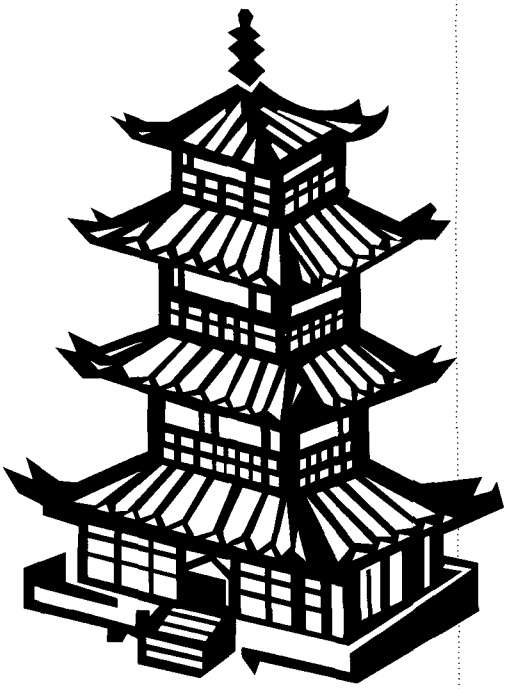
Now that apartheid has ended, South Africa is becoming a more normal nation. But it is still a nation with many problems, reports *Economist* staff writer Pedder.

Many of these problems are economic and the results of apartheid. White-ruled South Africa practiced economic autarky, high tariffs, and stringent exchange controls. Barred from interacting with the rest of the world, South Africa's largest corporations invested instead in each other's enterprises. The result: South Africa is a nation where giant corporations control most of the nation's wealth. This concentration of capital should ease as foreign investment rises and exchange controls are eased.

South Africa's current tariff barriers retard economic growth and indirectly subsidize unproductive enterprises. Currently, because of high tariffs on imported cars, domestic manufacturers can charge 30 to 40 percent more for a car than an American company would charge for a product that is only one-fourth as likely to break down. As tariffs fall, Pedder predicts, the quality of products South Africans can buy will rise and the prices they pay will drop.

Increased South African prosperity will make southern Africa more stable. Although most of southern Africa remains desperately poor—Mozambique records an annual per capita GNP of $80—southern Africa's leaders are talking about regional pacts to encourage freer trade and immigration, and enterprising South African corporations are beginning to invest in their northern neighbors.

Though South African president Nelson Mandela has encouraged deregulation and economic growth, questions remain as to who will succeed Mandela, age 76, when his term expires in 1999. But the likely candidates, first deputy president Thabo Mbeki or African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, are increasingly unlikely to implement nationalizations or other anti-capitalist measures because they would imperil national prosperity and thus threaten ANC power. "For the first time in years," Pedder concludes, South Africa "has a future worth contemplating."



Not Mysterious in the Least

Ramesh Ponnuru, The Mystery of Japanese Growth. *Centre for Policy Studies/American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036. 47 pages.*

Some Americans argue that Japan's capitalist successes are due to wise government steering of business, or because of some mysterious cultural qualities Westerners will never understand. But Ramesh Ponnuru contends that understanding the Japanese economy is no great mystery. She agrees with the summary of author Jonathan Rauch that "what has worked for Japan is what works everywhere: thrift, hard work, education, property rights, a willingness to sacrifice for tomorrow, and strong families that take good care of children."

There is no evidence that bureaucrats in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) have pushed Japan to economic success, Ponnuru argues. Many of MITI's efforts to "guide" Japanese business have backfired. MITI originally refused to allow Sony to buy Japanese manufacturing rights to the transistor from Western Electric because they thought the product was unpromising. MITI's efforts to consolidate various Japanese industries have resulted in less

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competition and artificially high prices. Efforts by MITI to create a "fifth generation" computer in the 1980s resulted in failure and a massive waste of yen. Japanese state-owned monopolies have cost consumers dearly. Japan's telephone monopoly, two-thirds state-owned, charges its customers 50 percent more than Americans, and has stifled such innovations as cellular phones. Bureaucrats in the Ministry of Health and Welfare ensnarl pharmaceutical manufacturers in red tape, forcing drug prices higher. And Japan's state-owned television service spent a billion dollars on high-definition television "picking technology which American companies have made obsolete."

Instead of making highly fallible Japanese bureaucrats into economic supermen, Ponnuru urges readers to focus on more obvious reasons why Japan is successful. "Japan is a country with fierce competition, low taxes and inflation, a high savings rate, intact families, and a strong educational system," Ponnuru writes. "Is it so terribly surprising that such a nation should succeed economically?"

Information vs. Authoritarianism in East Asia

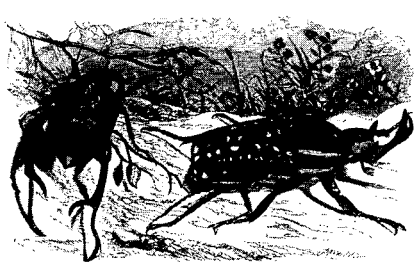
Gerald Segal, "Asians in Cyberia," in The Washington Quarterly *(Summer 1995), Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1800 K Street NW #400, Washington, DC 20006.*

Many East Asian politicians have claimed that their nations are economically successful because their citizens practice a "Confucian ethic" of hard work and avoid decadent Western pastimes. But Segal, a senior fellow at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, contends that these cultures now face a formidable rival: Western information technology. He argues that the reason why "many East Asians have begun touting their supposedly special values" is "because the impact of information technology on their societies is growing more difficult to control."

The best-known influence of Western technology on East Asia is the way that Chinese pro-democracy demonstrators used faxes, CNN, and the BBC World Service in their failed attempt to reform the Chinese Communist regime in 1989. But more subversive to the authority of the Chinese Communist Party is the Hong Kong-based STAR-TV (owned by Rupert Murdoch), since many Chinese viewers are more interested in "soap operas about conspicuous consumption and loose morals" such as Baywatch or Dallas than they are in overtly political broadcasts.

More productively, the Internet is being used as a potent political tool. Thousands of Chinese routinely download unfiltered analysis of their nation's political situation from the Net. Though East Asian telecommunications services are far less advanced than in the United States or Europe, Segal predicts that Internet use will become more widespread as telecom facilities become more sophisticated and use of U.S. based "callback" companies allows Asian users to circumvent the artificially high prices of national telephone monopolies.

Ultimately, Segal concludes, East Asians will have to choose between allowing use of the global information network or blocking access to this network through censorship and punitive regulation. And it may well be, Segal concludes, that the "so-called Confucian values of thrift and self-effacement...like Victorian values before them in the Atlantic world, are more a product of a specific stage of development than a specific culture," and thus cannot be artificially preserved through government intervention.



SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

The Endangered Species Act Should Be Extinct

Charles C. Mann and Mark L. Plummer, Noah's Choice: The Future of Endangered Species. *Alfred A. Knopf, 201 East 50th Street, New York, New York 10022. 247 pages, $24.*

In 1973, President Richard Nixon signed the Endangered Species Act into law. Since then, the act's draconian provisions have produced vicious battles between federal bureaucrats and landowners, report Charles Mann and Mark Plummer.

What has made the Endangered Species Act so severe is section 7 of the act, which required the federal government to stop at nothing to save any endangered species.

The authors of the act, however, failed to understand that there were millions of species in the world, including 30 million species of insects, 1.6 million fungi, a million or so worm-like nematodes, and tens of millions of bacteria. Are all these bugs, slugs, and germs worth protecting?

Even if every species on earth is to be preserved, it's clear that the Endangered Species Act does not provide especially effective means. Between 1973 and 1993, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service added 721 species to its endangered list and removed 21. Of these 21, only the American alligator was possibly helped by the Endangered Species Act, according to the authors. But even there, some scholars believe the recovery began when southern states passed laws in the 1960s to control alligator hunting. The unbending restrictions the Endangered Species Act places on property owners actually causes some unscrupulous owners to destroy threatened species in order to evade restrictions.

Mann and Plummer call for replacing the rigid legal bans of the Endangered Species Act with a federal trust fund that could buy land where protected species live. Because this trust fund's budget would be modulated by Congress, it would be a more considered method of protection than current policies that require unlimited spending on species preservation. Mann and Plummer also contend that the messy job of achieving political compromise can't be done by scientists—it has to be performed by elected officials. "Science is a useful tool for answering questions about facts," they write, "but it cannot tell us what we should do about those facts."

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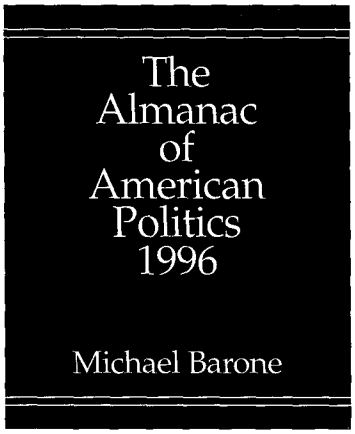

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Edited by Karlyn Bowman and Everett Carll Ladd
Data from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research

Of Classrooms, Courtrooms, and Public Broadcasting

Contents

101 College Freshmen
104 Lawyers
105 The O.J. Simpson Trial
106 Public Broadcasting
108 John Major's Prospects

For the past 29 years, Alexander Astin and his colleagues at UCLA have been conducting annual surveys of freshmen entering the nation's colleges. Over a span in which social transformation has come fast and furious, Astin's research gives us valuable insights into changes in outlook among the college bound segment of America's youth.

Max Weber suggested that the young are more disposed to adhere to what he called the "ethic of ultimate ends" (pursuing ideas and ideals unreservedly), while older people are inclined to the "ethic of responsibility" (seeking to accomplish as much good as is practically possible). Modern-day survey research yields ample confirmation of this basic formulation. The Astin data, for example, show entering college freshmen following the same opinion swings evident across the rest of the population, but shifting more sharply from one "purer" position to another. Attitudes on crime and punishment are a case in point. The whole country, we know, has moved toward a tougher stance, but the shift among entering freshmen is particularly sharp. In 1970, a solid majority favored abolishing the death penalty, but in 1994, just one in five did.

In every year during the period covered by Astin's studies, the largest group of entering freshmen have labeled their political views as middle-of-the-road. Fifty percent did so in 1994. Those associating with the left and right have been in rough parity—at about a fifth to a fourth of the entering college population—for 15 years now. This is a big shift from the pattern of the late 1960s and early 1970s, when self-described liberals outnumbered conservatives by roughly two to one. As the data on pages 102–103 indicate, some of the biggest shifts in a conservative direction have occurred on cultural and lifestyle issues. On civil liberties questions, today's college youth look, if anything, a bit more liberal than their counterparts of 20 to 30 years ago.

As you will see starting on page 104, lawyers have been handed a highly negative verdict in the court of U.S. public opinion. Even in Shakespeare's time, the legal profession came in for strong criticism, but current attitudes represent a nadir. When a significantly larger percentage of the public tells pollsters they trust lawyers less than car salesmen or politicians, you know that the bar's standing is low indeed.

The O.J. Simpson trial certainly has not helped things. The United States does many things well; the conduct of this trial has surely not been one of them. The one useful outcome is that the American public has come down foursquare in criticizing many facets of this legal debacle—including the bringing of television cameras into courtrooms.

If there is an institution that rivals the bar in generating disdain among the populace, it is the leadership of the American entertainment industry. In a survey taken by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA Today* in June, an extraordinary 65 percent described the entertainment industry as"seriously out of touch with the values of the American people;" only 29 percent rejected this assessment (page 106). The low esteem in which entertainment business leaders are viewed helps explain a somewhat anomalous finding that has come into the current debate over the future of public television. The argument has been made by public TV's defenders that it enjoys widespread backing. In reality, the evidence shows no overwhelming affection for public broadcasting. Rather the criticism of commercial entertainment is so high that, by comparison, the public programming seems comparatively benign.

—Everett Carll Ladd

WHEN THE PUBLIC TELLS POLLSTERS THEY TRUST LAWYERS LESS THAN CAR SALESMEN OR POLITICIANS, YOU KNOW THAT THE BAR'S STANDING IS LOW INDEED.

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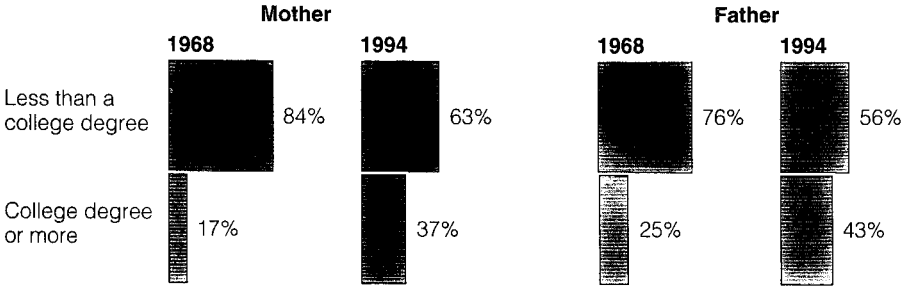
COLLEGE FRESHMEN

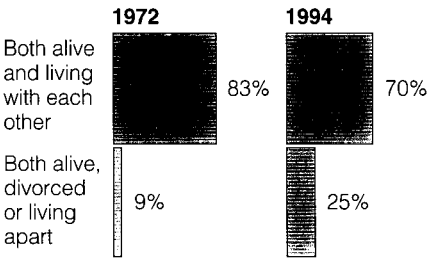
For nearly 30 years, researchers at UCLA have been collecting information on the attitudes of freshmen entering college. This unique collection provides a yearly snapshot of the mood on campuses. Some of the trends are well known. In 1972, for example, 9 percent of these students had parents who were living apart or divorced. Twenty years later, the number has nearly tripled. Both young men and women have higher educational aspirations, but there has been more change among women than men. Concern about financing a college education is about what it was 20 years ago. A third of students expect to get a job to pay for college, while only 5 percent plan to work full-time.

Family Background

Question: **What is the highest level of formal education obtained by your parents?**

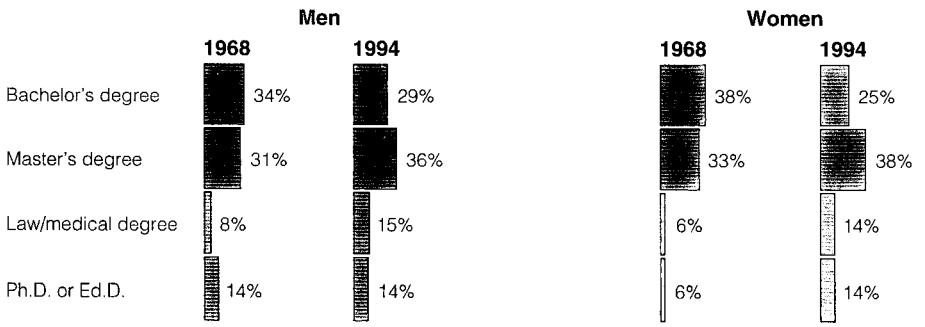


Question: **Are your parents...**

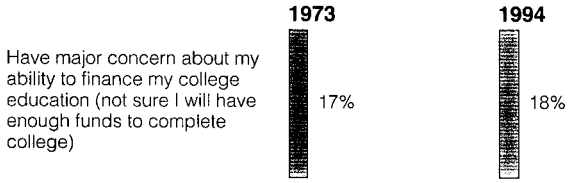


Expectations

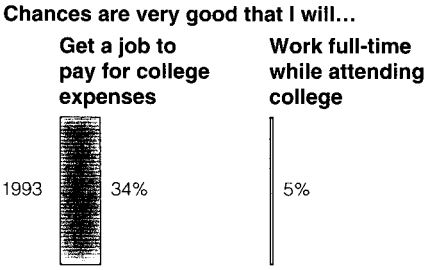
Question: **What is the highest academic degree that you intend to obtain?**



Question: **Do you have any concern about your ability to finance your college education?**



Question: **What is your best guess as to the chances that you will...?**



Note: In 1973, 41% of freshmen at predominantly black colleges had major concerns about their ability to finance their college education. In 1994, 27% of this group had major fears.

Source: Surveys by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program for the American Council on Education and the Graduate School of Education & Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, latest that of 1994.

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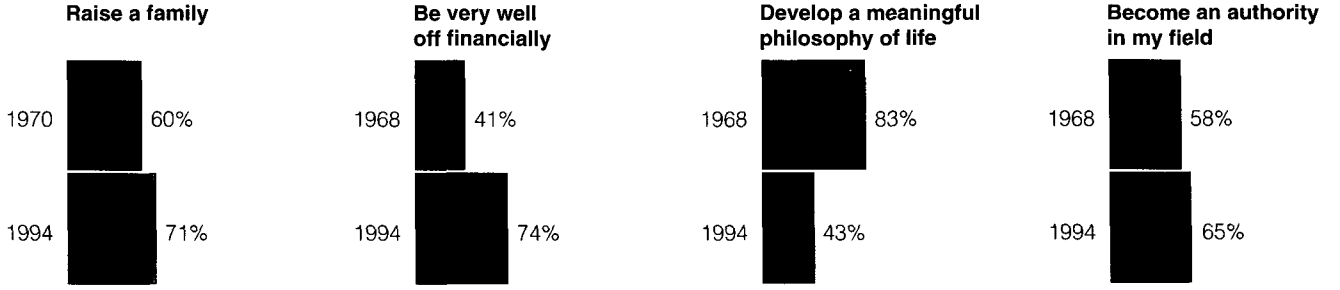
College Freshmen, continued

Some goals of students entering college have remained stable over time while others have fluctuated in importance. Raising a family and becoming an authority in one's field have long been important, whereas developing a meaningful philosophy of life and being well-off financially have waned and waxed in importance. Joining a fraternity or sorority is less popular than in the past, while interest in volunteer work has risen slightly. Perhaps surprisingly, the number of students who say they will very likely participate in a demonstration is just what it was in 1968. Roughly 30 percent of freshmen entering college call themselves born-again Christians. Although smoking is less popular, beer appears to be a dietary staple for a majority.

Goals

Question: **Please indicate the importance to you personally of each of the following:**

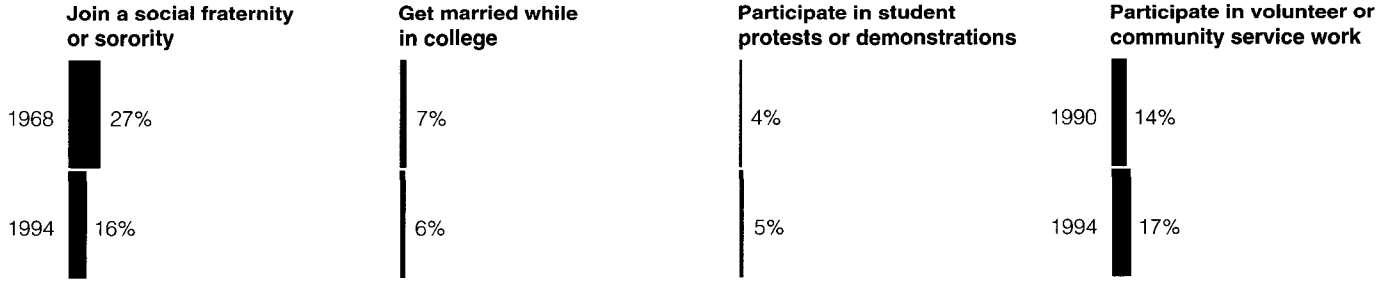
It is very important or essential to:



Activities

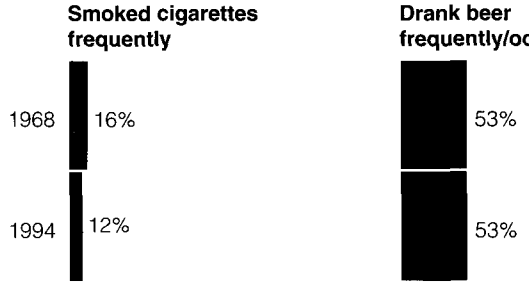
Question: **What is your best guess as to the chances you will...?**

Chances are very good that I will...

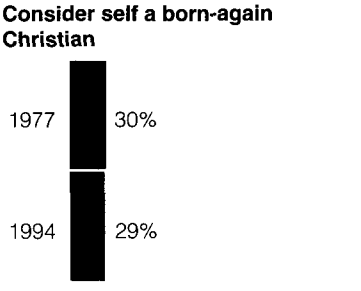


Question: **For the activities below, indicate which ones you did during the past year.**

Did the following activities



Question: **Do you...?**



Source: Surveys by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program for the American Council on Education and the Graduate School of Education & Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, latest that of 1994.

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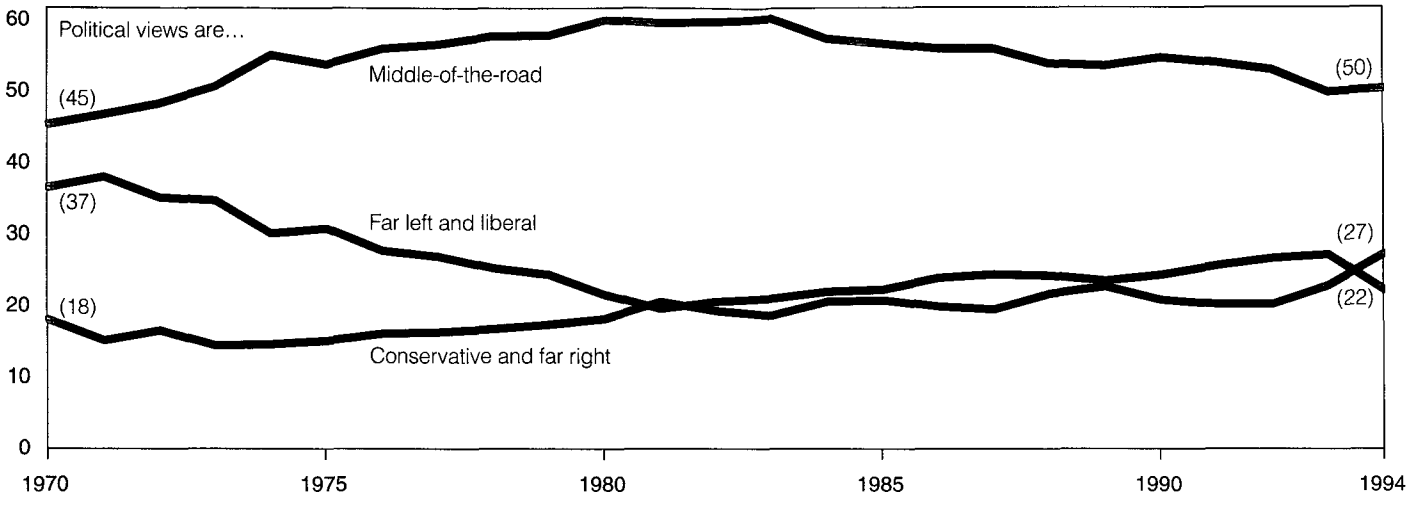
Political Views

Most freshmen describe their political views as middle-of-the road, but slightly more of the rest now say they are conservative rather than liberal. Attitudes about crime have shifted sharply as have views about casual sex, both in the conservative direction. Widespread mandatory testing for AIDS is supported. The idea that the activities of married women are best confined to home and family is endorsed by a quarter of freshmen entering college, down sharply from the near majority who felt that way in 1970. In 1977 and 1994 alike, roughly 60 percent of women and men in college thought abortion should be legal. Today's freshmen are more skeptical of laws prohibiting homosexual relations than they were in the past.

Question: **How would you characterize your political views?**



Question: **Mark one in each row...**

Agree strongly/somewhat

Abortion should be legal

1977 56%
1994 60%

Men and women did not differ on this issue.

If two people really like each other, it's all right for them to have sex even if they've known each other for a very short time

1975 65%
1994 43%

Fifty-six percent of men, and 32% of women agreed.

Marijuana should be legalized

1970 35%
1994 32%

Thirty-six percent of men and 28% of women agreed.

There is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals

1972 43%
1994 73%

Differences by sex were small.

The activities of married women are best confined to the home and family

1970 48%
1994 25%

Thirty-one percent of men and 20% of women agreed.

It is important to have laws prohibiting homosexual relationships

1976 47%
1994 34%

Forty-five percent of men and 24% of women agreed.

Racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America

1990 18%
1994 17%

Men and women did not differ.

The death penalty should be abolished

1970 56%
1994 20%

Differences by sex were small.

The best way to control AIDS is through widespread, mandatory testing

1988 68%
1994 62%

Differences by sex were small.

Source: Surveys by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program for the American Council on Education and the Graduate School of Education & Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, latest that of 1994.

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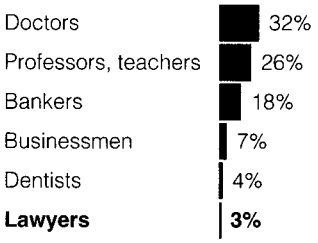
LAWYERS

Long before the O. J. Simpson trial focused attention on courtroom practices, or Congress turned its attention to tort reform, lawyers had an image problem. In 1949 one survey found that lawyers were trusted the least among a group of professions. More than 40 years later, the same picture emerges. All three of the major polls measuring confidence in professions show a sharp drop in lawyers' recent standing. In the Harris surveys, law firms rank last among institutions whose leaders people have confidence in. In terms of honesty and ethical standards, the public rates many other professionals more highly than lawyers—including pollsters!

Question: **Here is a list of well-known professions and occupations. Please look over the list and tell me which one you feel you trust the most.**

1949

Trust the most

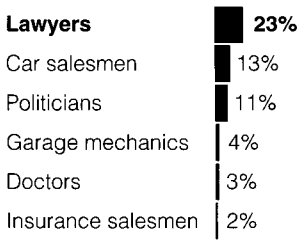


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, March 20–25, 1949.

Question: **Just off the top of your head, what profession or type of worker do you trust the least?**

1991

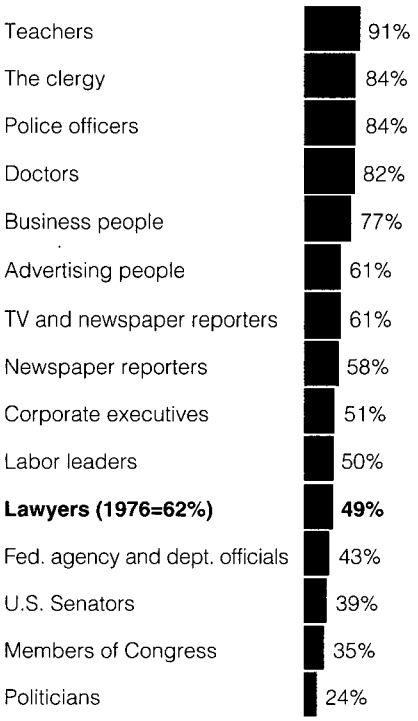
Trust the least



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for Troika Productions and Lifetime Television, February 28–March 3, 1991.

Question: **Now here is a list of people in various kinds of occupations. For each one would you tell me whether you generally have a...?**

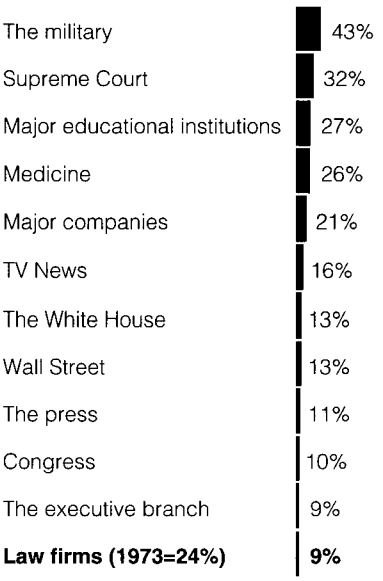
Have a high/fairly good opinion of



Source: Surveys by Roper Starch Worldwide, October 17–24, 1992.

Question: **As far as people in charge of running (name of institution) are concerned, would you say you...**

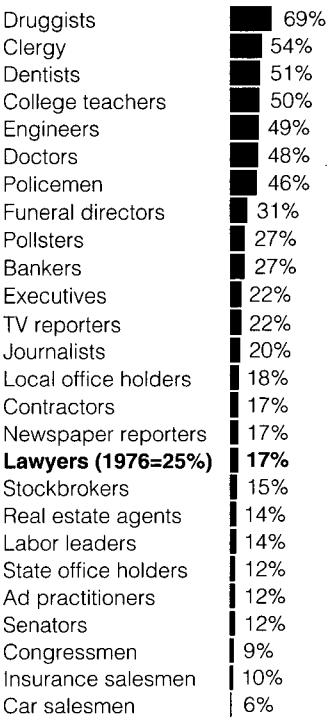
Have a great deal of confidence in the people running...



Source: Surveys by Louis Harris and Associates, February 6–9, 1995.

Question: **Next, please tell me how you would rate the honesty and ethical standards of people in these different fields...**

Rate honesty and ethical standards as very high/high



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 1994.

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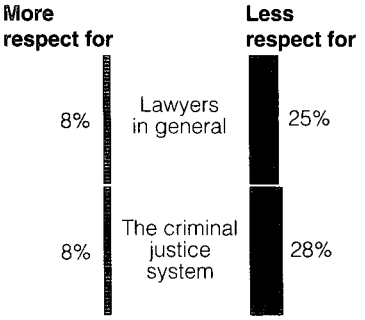
The O.J. Simpson Trial

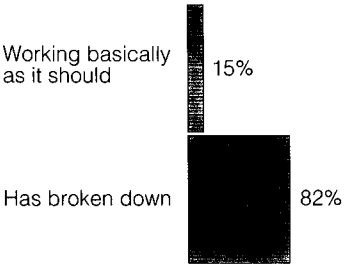
Three times as many people have less respect rather than more respect for lawyers as a result of the O. J. Simpson trial. The criminal justice system fares no better. New polls suggest that the public has changed its mind about cameras in the courtroom, and now considers them a bad idea. Separately, there is a chasm between black and white perceptions of Simpson's guilt. Most surveys are not large enough to allow us to look at attitudes of different groups of blacks, but our early reading suggests that black women are less likely to say the charges are definitely or probably true, and that older blacks are less likely to believe he is guilty than younger ones.

Question: **As a result of what you've seen or heard about the O.J. Simpson case so far, please tell me whether you have...**



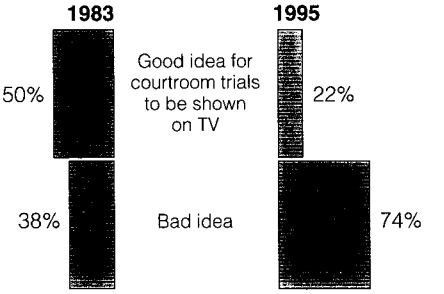
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the American Bar Association, spring 1995.

Question: **Do you think the criminal justice system in the O.J. Simpson trial is...?**



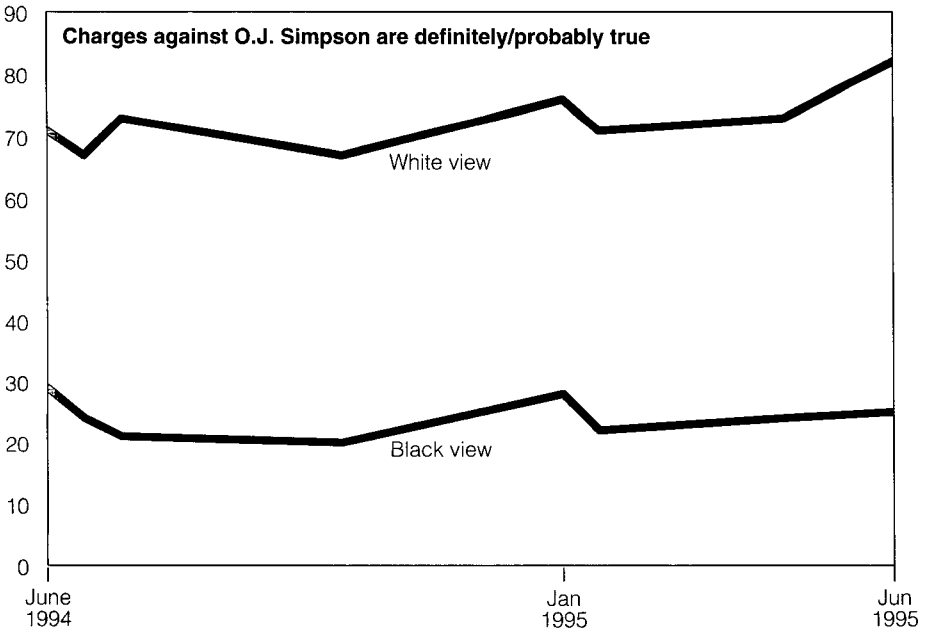
Source: Survey by CBS News, June 4–6, 1995.

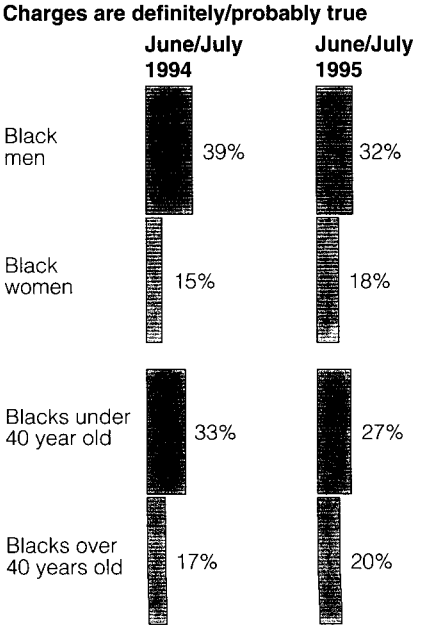
Question: **Do you think it is a...?**



Source: (1983) Survey by the Roper Organization; (1995) survey by CBS News, June 4–6, 1995.

Question: **From what you have heard so far, do you think the charges against O.J. Simpson are definitely true, probably true, probably not true or definitely not true?**





Note: Black subgroup samples are small, even when several polls were combined.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, latest that of July 20–23, 1995.

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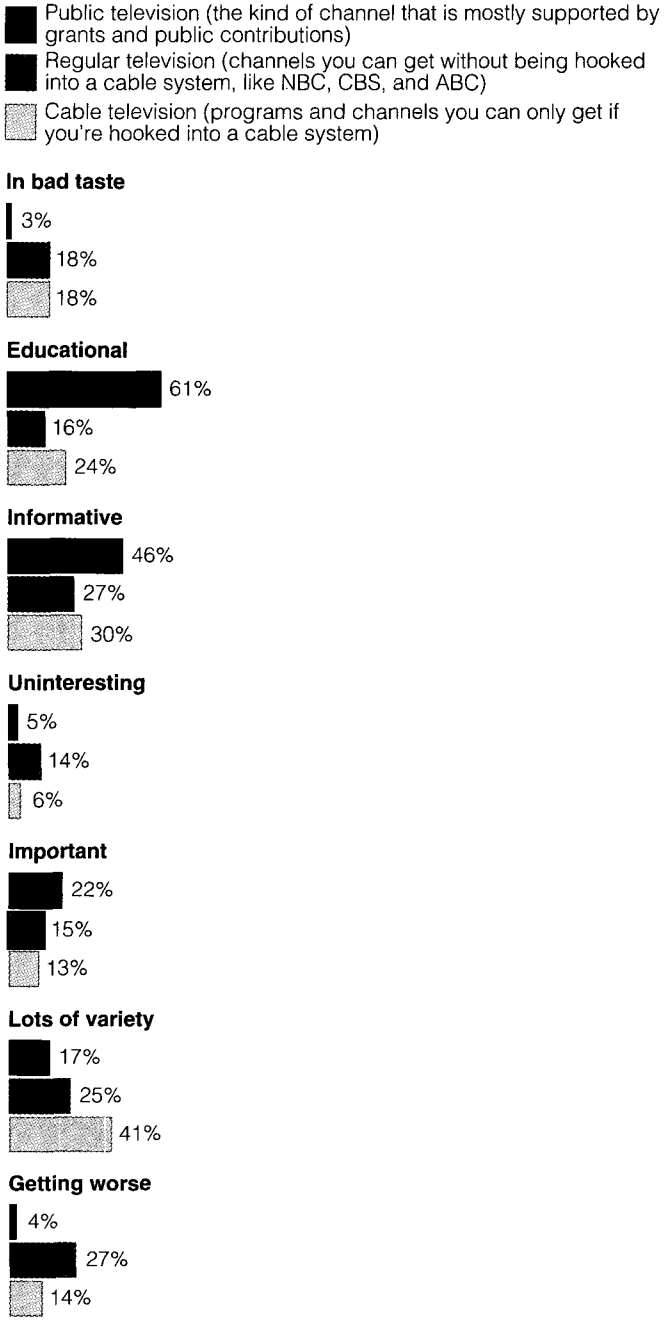
PUBLIC BROADCASTING

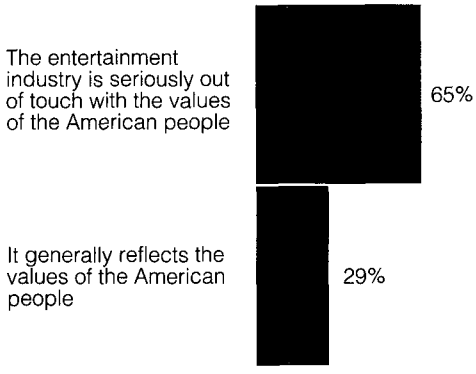
Though they don't tune in much (see facing page), Americans give public broadcasting high marks compared to other media. Public television is thought to be more educational, informative, and important. Compared to cable or network TV, fewer people say it is in bad taste or that it is getting worse. The public is highly critical of our popular culture industry—movies, television, and popular music. Americans see it as out of step with their own values and believe that its content is getting worse.

Question: **Here are some words and phrases which have been used to describe cable television, regular television, and public television. I'd like to ask you first how you would describe...**



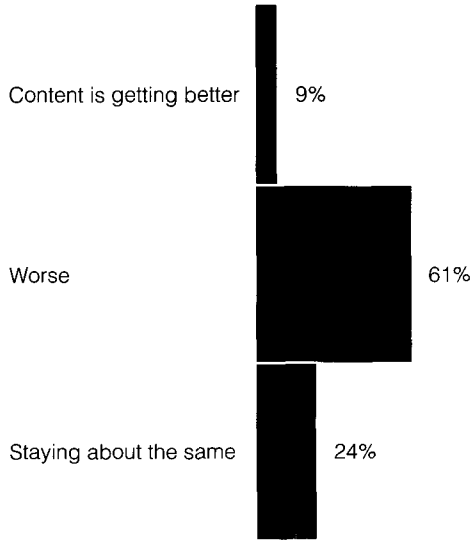
Note: Not all categories shown.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide, February 1994.

Question: **Which comes closer to your point of view about the entertainment industry...?**



Note: A *Los Angeles Times* poll conducted June 9–11, 1995 found similar attitudes. Seventy percent said that the people who work in the American film industry have different values than they do. Majorities of all age groups agreed.
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, June 5–6, 1995.

Question: **Do you think the content of the material produced by America's entertainment industry, and by that I mean movies, television, and popular music is...**



Source: Survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, June 9–11, 1995.

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. . . Versus Some Alternatives

In debates over the future of public broadcasting, polls have been bandied about by advocates. PBS itself joined the fray, releasing earlier this year some of the findings from a poll it commissioned. Recent polls show that efforts to scale back funding to reduce the deficit are popular but that the public is split on ending funding entirely. When people are asked about cuts in a range of government programs, they say that other government efforts are more important to them than public broadcasting. The PBS audience is small.

Question: **I'd like to know how often you watch or listen to certain TV and radio programs. As I read each, tell me if you watch or listen...**

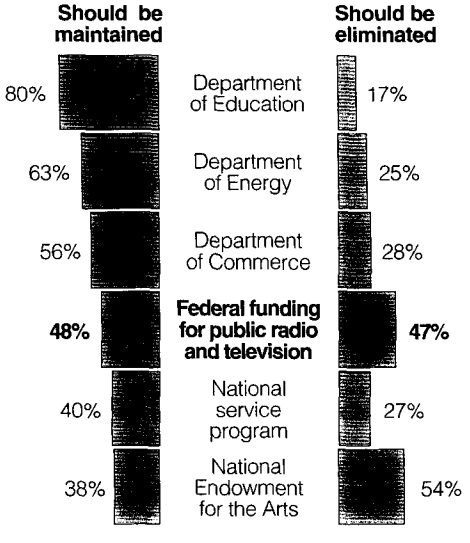
Watch or listen...

	Regularly	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never
News magazine shows such as *60 Minutes* or *20/20*	43%	43%	8%	6%
MacNeil Lehrer	**7%**	**23**	**11**	**58**
TV shows such as *A Current Affair, Hard Copy* or *Inside Edition*	24%	40	18	18
Programs on National Public Radio, such as *Morning Edition* or *All Things Considered*	**9%**	**18**	**11**	**62**
Cable News Network	33%	36	7	24
C-Span	9%	26	12	52
Rush Limbaugh's radio show	6%	20	13	61

Note: Not all categories shown.
Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, July 12–25, 1994.

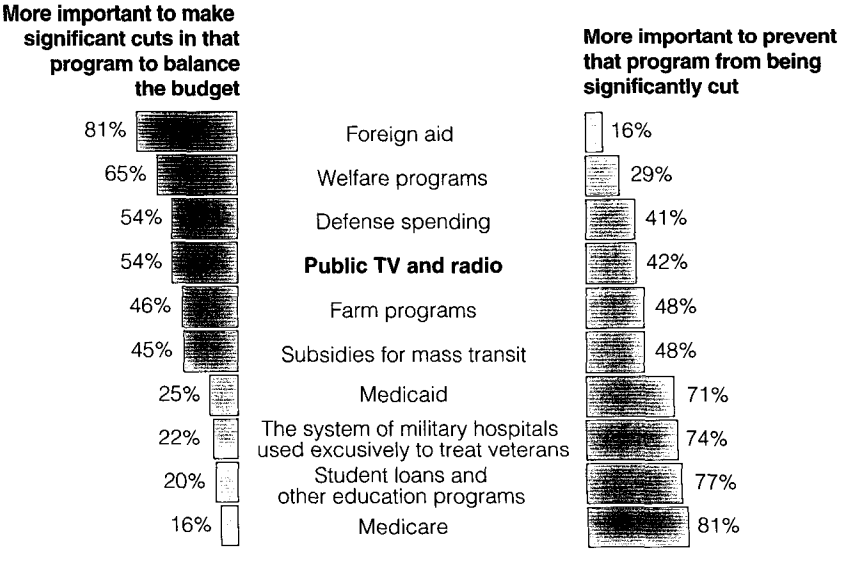
In January, when much was being written about funding for public broadcasting, at least three survey organizations were in the field assessing public attitudes. The *Los Angeles Times* found that 63 percent of those surveyed thought spending should be cut back for public television and radio "in order to reduce the federal deficit" while 32 percent disagreed. A Gallup poll for CNN and *USA TODAY* found that by a margin of 76 to 20 percent the public did not want to "eliminate altogether" funding for national public television and radio. A Harris survey for *Business Week* also found the public opposed to elimination of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting by a margin of 62 to 35 percent. Question wording is always important in surveys, and this area is no exception. The public appears reluctant to eliminate entirely funding in this area, but it also appears receptive to cuts to reduce the budget deficit. The questions below, asked more recently, reinforce these impressions. They also provide a crude ranking of priorities Americans have in terms of cuts.

Question: **Congress is considering the elimination of some federal agencies and programs. For each one, please tell me whether you think it should be maintained or eliminated. First, should the...**



Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, June 2–6, 1995.

Question: **I'm going to read you a list of programs that some people have suggested be cut to balance the budget by the year 2002. For each, please tell me if it is more important to...**



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, May 10–11, 1995.

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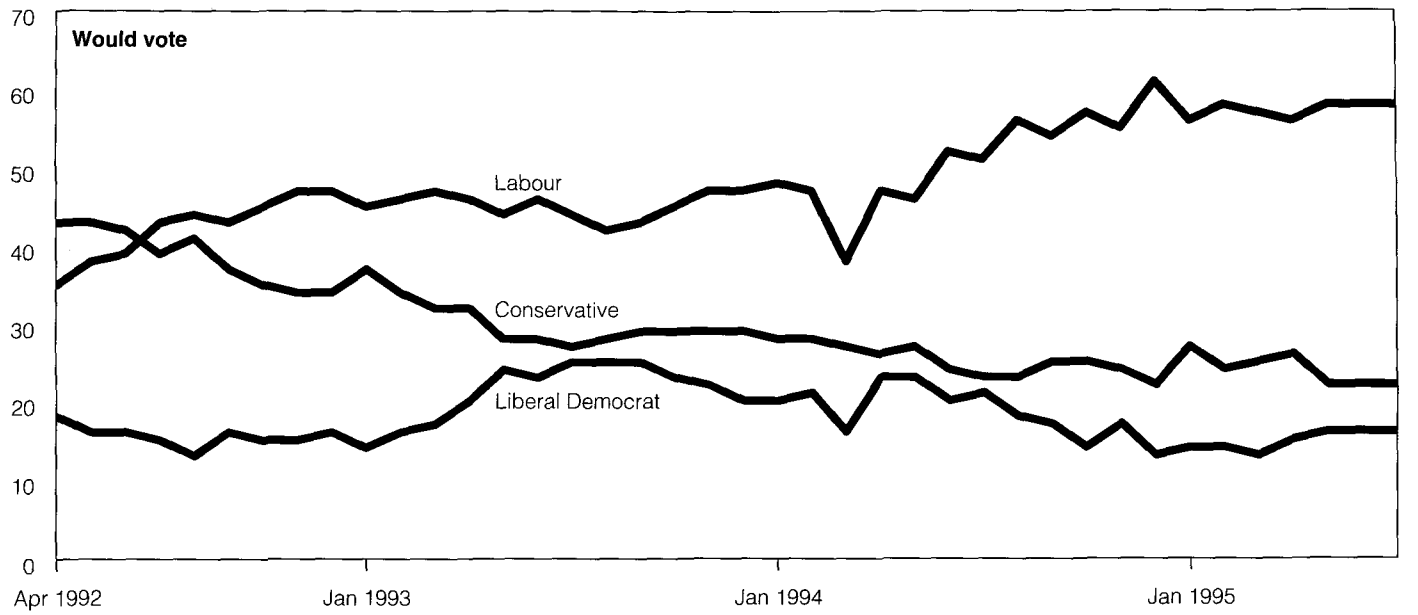
JOHN MAJOR'S PROSPECTS

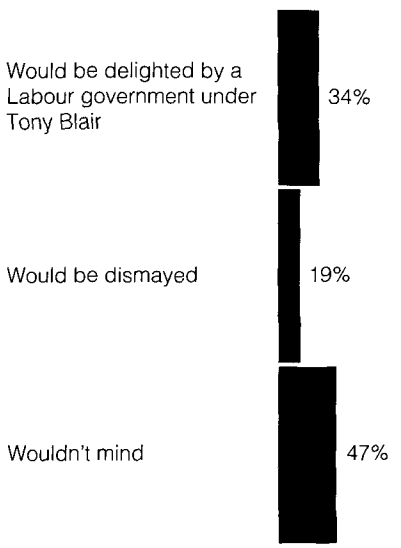
Prime Minister John Major quelled dissent within conservative ranks through his July maneuvering, but he did little to change his party's standing with the electorate. For the last 12 months, Labour has led the Conservatives by at least 28 percentage points. Still, the polls suggest no real enthusiasm for Labour. About a third are delighted at the prospect that Labour could govern, while a plurality say they wouldn't mind. A third say it is really hard to think of any positive reasons for voting Labour. A majority think their taxes would go up under a Labour government. Still, Brits believe the new Labour leaders are a vast improvement over the past ones.

Question: **How would you vote if there was a general election tomorrow?**

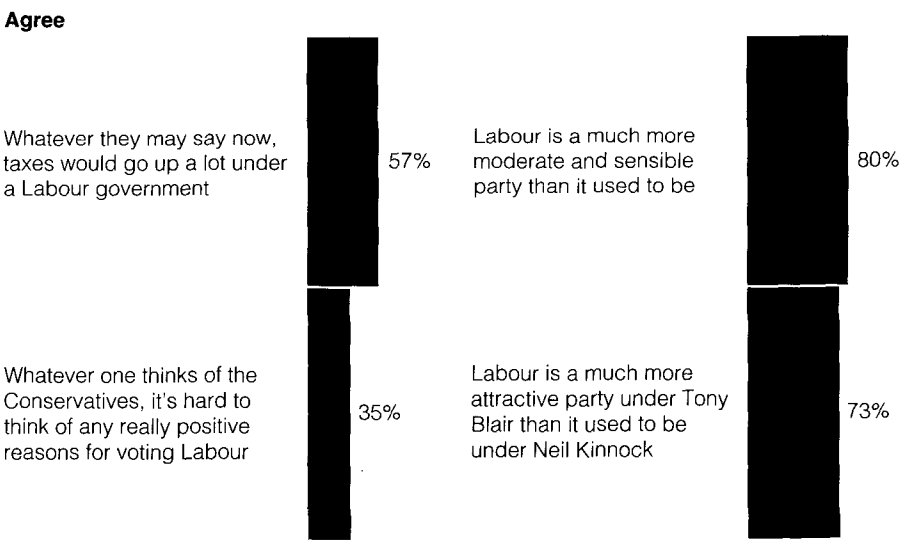


Source: Survey by Market & Opinion Research International, latest that of July 21–24, 1995.

Question: **Suppose a Labour government were formed under Mr. Tony Blair. Which of these three statements would come nearest to your own reaction?**



Question: **I'm going to read out some things people are saying about the Labour party at the moment. Some are favorable, some unfavorable. Could you tell me for each statement whether you...?**



Source: Survey by the British Gallup, latest that of April 1995.

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the Mail

Karl Zinsmeister's excellent review of the extent of socialism in the United States (BIRD'S EYE, July/August) surprisingly omits one of the country's largest socialist enterprises—the government elementary and secondary school system. Like all socialist systems, it produces a low-quality product at high cost, stymies innovation, and in the process benefits a small group of special interests.

To radically improve our school system we must introduce effective competition by for-profit private enterprises operating in a free market. So far, the business community has not recognized the importance for its own future of radically reforming the educational system, and has not been willing to back the changes that are needed. That is extremely shortsighted.

Milton Friedman
Stanford, California

Regarding "The Fearsome Master" (BIRD'S EYE, July/August): If the Carol Moore to whom you refer is the same D.C. activist whom I met at the Libertarian Party National Convention, she's a libertarian, not a liberal. But it's a quibble. The article was right on target.

John Finerty
Alexandria, Virginia

The short essay by Major Keith Hutcheson advocating closing military stores (SCAN, July/August) failed to consider:

- The federal government would have to raise military salaries by 3 to 5 percent to compensate servicemen and women for the loss of the stores. These salary increases would probably cost much more than the stores' presumed $500 million annual cost to taxpayers.
- The money generated by the military stores go to on-base recreational activities that improve morale. If the stores are closed down, the federal government will have to directly subsidize these facilities instead.
- Although people may not stay in the military because they save a few dollars at its stores, I have heard many say they are leaving because of erosion of benefits.

A final comment: I do not think I ever served with Major Hutcheson, but if his concern for his troops is accurately reflected in his essay, I am glad I never did.

Christopher Douglas Cole, SSgt, USAF, Ret.Res.
Tuscon, Arizona

Major Keith Hutcheson replies:

Staff Sergeant Cole is right: if the salaries of all servicemen were adjusted to compensate for the closing of these facilities, the costs would exceed the savings. However, officers and senior non-commissioned officers are compensated enough to absorb what little loss of "benefit" would occur. Cognizant of how important a few dollars can be to a young enlisted person, I did *suggest they (alone) be compensated if these facilities were closed.*

On-base recreational activities need not be subsidized in the future. Local civilian communities afford an array of low-cost recreational facilities military people may join.

Unlike the era of Sergeant Cole's enlistment, today we must look in every nook and cranny for ways to save money in the military budget. There are many budget items deserving serious scrutiny that have nothing to do with fighting preparedness—items that taxpayers can no longer afford to support. (These are my own opinions, not those of the DoD.)

What a delight to read a review of Donald Davidson's *Regionalism and Nationalism in the United States* (BOOK TALK, May/June). Davidson's insight that poetry—indeed, all art—grows out of a tradition, and requires a society to support it, explains what's gone wrong with so much contemporary art.

If we don't like contemporary art, it's not just the fault of artists: in part, they are reflecting what happens to artistic sensibility under what Davidson called "the new barbarism of science and technology controlled and directed by the modern power state." Protesting NEA policies might slow down the degeneration of the arts, but their renewal requires the hard work of rebuilding a real society.

Nancy R. Pearcey
Annandale, Virginia

I just received my first issue of *The American Enterprise.* Allow me to congratulate you on a fine magazine. I found the layout to be exceptional, and I enjoyed every department. Of more importance to me was the tone of the publication. No hyperbole or rhetoric. Just well-researched articles articulated in a calm yet factual manner. Again, thanks for a great magazine. You have a lifelong subscriber!

Russ Lay
via Compuserve

Bill Kauffman's cadre of FDR-bashers didn't exactly sparkle (FLASHBACK, July/August). It included a failed president, two failed presidential aspirants, a dyspeptic dowager, a Germanophile, an eccentric theoretician, a defender of Joe McCarthy, and a hardline libertarian. Most of their pronouncements were made long before the Roosevelt record was complete.

Why, I keep wondering, do conservatives so detest the man whose policies laid

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the groundwork for the greatest prosperity in U.S. history?

Mort Paulson
Silver Spring, Maryland

In her recent *TAE* article (TWO VIEWS, July/August), Abigail Thernstrom was only half right to suggest that class-based affirmative action would simply be added to existing race-based programs. On July 19th, President Clinton indeed embraced a class-plus-race solution; but the very next day the University of California Board of Regents embraced a class-*not*-race motto.

Either way, class-based preferences are in our future. They acknowledge the potential of the disadvantaged, they won't ignite class warfare, and they provide a more genuine meritocracy—something Americans across ideological lines should feel comfortable embracing.

Richard Kahlenberg
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Clint Bolick's advocacy of income-based preferences replacing affirmative action (TWO VIEWS, July/August) was an exasperating reminder of why I despair of "conservatives" and "libertarians" who operate inside the Beltway. "Income-based preferences" are just another kowtow to Karl Marx's evil principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." If warmed-over Marx is what passes for better policy in official conservative/libertarian circles, it's going to be a long, long way to Tipperary.

John Attarian
Ann Arbor, Michigan

I've just finished the July/August issue of *TAE,* one of your best yet. The magazine has been an indispensable source of information for critiquing culture; it treats the "hard" and unevadable culture issues that simply won't go away. Also, the series of 18 essays on crime in the May/June issue was outstanding.

J. Daryl Charles
The Wilberforce Forum of Prison Fellowship

I found the articles regarding our imperial (imperious?) judiciary in the May/June issue informative and alarming. The examples cited seem to fulfill this warning from President Lincoln's First Inaugural Address:

"The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government...is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court...the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having, to that extent, practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

And to think I was taught in school that Lincoln was "progressive."

Timothy P. Williams
Plano, Texas

In "Will Hawaii's Imperial Judges Give Us Gay Marriage in 1996?" (May/June), Hadley Arkes raises valid issues regarding judicial overreaching but then unleashes a broadside against homosexual matrimony.

In the absence of legal gay nuptials, however, expect to see a growing number of government- and corporation-recognized "domestic partnerships" that provide spousal benefits to unmarried couples. The consequence: another disincentive to heterosexual matrimony. Allow committed gay lifemates to take on all the rights and obligations of legally recognized unions, on the other hand, and domestic partnerships will fade into oblivion.

I find it odd that those who condemn homosexual promiscuity also fervently oppose integrating gays into the bedrock institution that provides social, legal, and financial reinforcement for stabilizing gay relationships.

Stephen H. Miller
New York, New York

Hadley Arkes replies:

Gay men may take on many "rights and obligations" we associate with "legally recognized unions" by signing leases together, undertaking contracts, and making each other the beneficiaries of their wills and life insurance. What they do not take on is the label of a "marriage."

Mr. Miller and other gay rights proponents miss the point: If gay marriage were accepted, on what grounds could the law resist demands to broaden the legal concept of marriage to take in plural groupings? If the notion of "marriage" is broadened to take on couples of the same sex, it cannot contain a principled ground for confining the relation to couples, rather than ensembles of three, four, or more; nor could it confine these plural groups only to members of the same sex. By that point, the notion of marriage will have been so altered that it will not provide any longer that special, unique relation—that "apex of emotional life," as Andrew Sullivan puts it—that makes it right now, among gays, a title worth craving.

Your statement that "prison works" (INDICATORS, May/June) apparently doesn't work for Louisiana. Louisiana has quadrupled its number of prisons since 1975, employed the harshest penalties in the nation, and executed 21 people since 1983. Yet it was recently declared the most dangerous state in which to live. To be tough on crime is not always to be smart on crime.

Harry Chisholm
Toledo, Ohio

Your "Crime Solutions" feature (May/June) missed the underlying context of crime in the street—most of America's crime is linked to the prohibitive cost of narcotics. If we legalized drug sales, the end of artificially high drug prices in America would cause crime to diminish drastically. The main objection to drug legalization has been speculation that more people will take drugs. To counter this we could place harsher penalties on drug users and addicts.

Peter Fleming
Pacific Palisades, California

Congratulations for an outstanding publication. Please extend my sincere appreciation to Katherine Dalton for her excellent article on feminism ("Hard Cases," May/June). Also, the piece on affirmative action at college (SCAN, May/June) should be disseminated widely. What a contrast you are to the miserable mediocrity of mainstream media!

David C. Bailey
Asheville, North Carolina

It was a stretch to call your "Socialism: Dead or Alive" discussion (July/August) a "roundtable" when all the participants sat on one side of the table. The discussion ignored the wider range of ongoing socialist experiments around the world, including the social democracies in Western Europe. I hope in the future you will examine the tradeoffs among social systems such as capitalism, democracy, and socialism.

David Eichberg
Washington, D.C.

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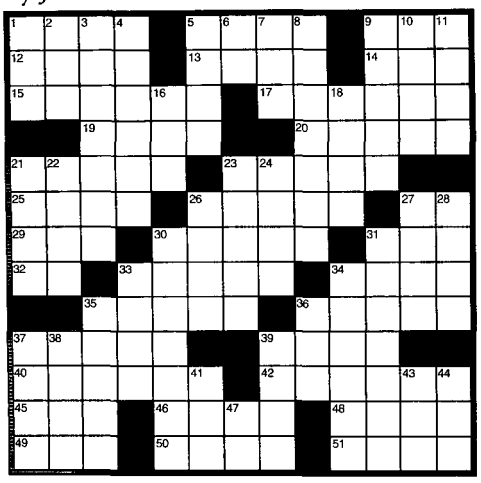
By Jonathan Schmalzbach



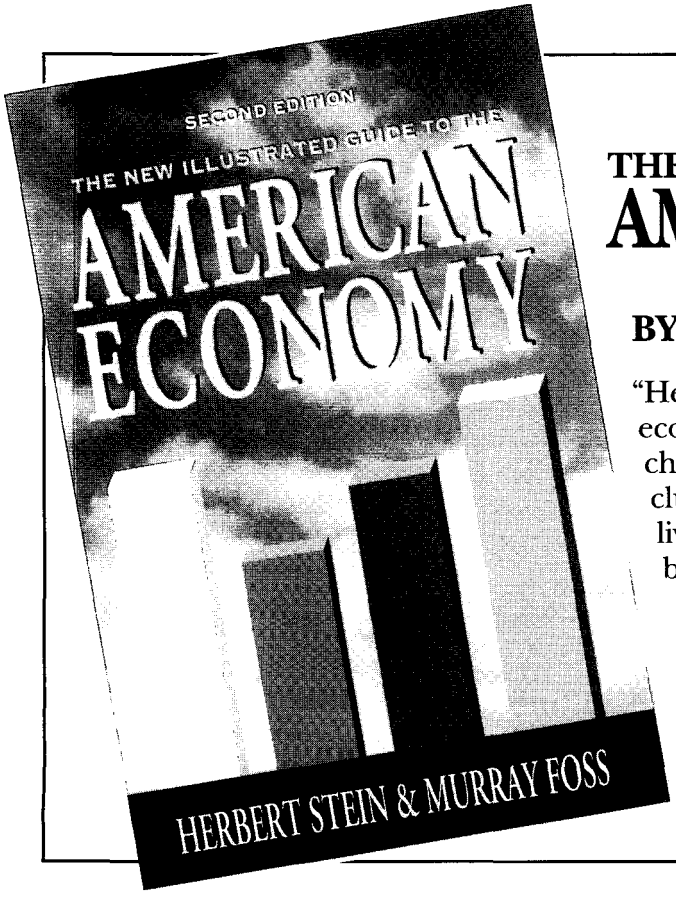
ACROSS

1 Team traveling from LA to St. Lou
5 A descendant of Ishmael, Abraham's first son
9 Before Claude Pepper was a Rep. he was this
12 Manson's most famous victim, backwards
13 Julia Child's direction
14 What Thomas Hart Benton made, backwards
15 Paved the way for Henry Foster
17 Playtime for children, break for Congress
19 Where Gretel shoved the witch
20 Storied boxing match paired James Webb and Oliver____.
21 Greek-American VP
23 Author Garson
25 Author of *Death in Venice*
26 Clinton's hapless Defense Secretary nominee
27 Christie Whitman's realm: abbr.
29 Phyllis Schlafly killed it
30 Air and Water Acts
31 Sound of a complaining kid
32 Symbol for tin
33 Klansman's laundry item
34 Supreme Court nominee, become a verb
35 Numbers to immediate left of decimal point
36 Bert who was thrown out of Carter's Cabinet
37 First member of Clinton's Cabinet to bow out
39 Name of 1980 NBA rookie of the year from Indiana
40 Wants to follow Joycelyn
42 City where William Kennedy's novels are based
45 Poe's _____ Morgue
46 Where the bodies lay in a morgue
48 Counterpart initial and surname to S. Grant
49 Choose
50 Tyson Foods' favorite Agriculture Secretary
51 Warren Beatty movie about John Reed

DOWN

1 Dakota tribe
2 Olympics' host city: abbr.
3 M. L. Ciccone, better known as...
4 DreamWorks director Spielberg
5 Second part of NAACP
6 Position played by Fridge
7 Nickname of 1985 NBA rookie of the year from NC
8 Eisenhower's court regret?
9 Radio jock with own NJ rest stop
10 Former, once
11 Wry writer from (1902-1971)
16 Conclusive VCR button
18 What dollar bill may soon be
21 Spy Aldrich
22 28-Down, last name
23 Joe Namath's Achilles heels
24 Dan Gable wrestled on this
26 "__ a song go..."
27 Slang for anti-drug-cop
28 Astronaut while Senator, first name
30 World's most spoken language
31 Vice-Presidential "Fritz"
33 Fit of anger
34 Composer of "Adagio for Strings"
35 Truman over Dewey, for one
36 __'_ Rascals
37 PC prefix
38 Campbell's product
39 Spock's subject
41 *Treasure Island* author's monogram
43 Bad-guy actor Beatty
44 Last word of *Ulysses*
47 Wire service: abbr.

The solution for BioGraph is on page 112.



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Names in the News

Pushinsky Against LaBombard

Fate has a sense of humor. I know. I've got a file full of names to prove it. Among the folders of amusing nomenclature I've collected for the writing of this department, the very plumpest is labeled "amazingly apt" names.

One of the all-time greats in this category belongs to an ACLU attorney named **Jon Pushinsky**. Is that a perfect handle for a busybody special-interest lawyer or what? "Dear School District Prone: This letter is to warn you that the faint cross and six-pointed star patterns embedded in the linoleum of your cafeteria floor personally bug every one of us at the local ACLU chapter, and probably violate both the separation of church and state and the infield fly rule. Unless you rip up the tiles immediately, simultaneously removing all tables (which are hierarchical) and all chairs (which are sexist and Eurocentric), we will be suing you in federal court for $10 million plus the cost of sensitivity training for all district employees who can't prove they feel bad about *something* their grandparents once did. Yours threateningly, Jon Pushinsky." Just fits, right there at the end of that letter, doesn't it?

If Mr. Pushinsky ever wants to start a law firm of his own, I have a couple suggestions for partners: Los Angeles attorney **John Argue**, and **Julia Judish** of the Center for Law and Social Policy. **Judish, Pushinsky,** and **Argue**—wouldn't you want them on your side during the next shark attack?

Some names give people no choice over their life's work. **Willy Waffle** was headed for his destiny as a congressional press secretary right from the day his soul was minted. And where was **William Headline** going to work if not...that's right...CNN? Are you surprised that **Walt Jocketty** is the general manager of a sports team (St. Louis Cardinals)? That **James Hasty** is a speedy cornerback for the Kansis City Chiefs? That **Lawrence Brain** is director of the Psychiatric Institute of Washington, D.C.? That **Alan DeFend** is an Air Force colonel? That **Priscilla Feral** is president of the Friends of Animals? (I wonder are there any Feral children?)

Sometimes this apt name thing can go too far. When I read in *Newsweek* that one of the latest microbrew lagers to go on the market was created by a Denver attorney named **Mike Beery**, I kind of wondered if he was showing off. Or just giving in. And why is **William Birdsong** running a peanut company in Virginia? Shameless commercialism. Occasionally you've got to wonder if what social scientists call "preselection bias" is at work on the name front. Is it an accident, I ask, that when the *Wall Street Journal* went looking for someone to interview on using weekend getaways at luxury hotels for "marriage maintenance" the woman they found "leaning back in a hot tub" was named **Cindy Van Der Boom**? We think not.

Names are destiny: In the little town where I live, the notorious tightwad slumlord is a guy named **Orson Ledger**. (I *swear* he's not a Dickens character.) The definitive report on legal gambling to come out in 1995 was the work of a guy named **Ronald Reno**. And what state do you suppose **Darlene Cornfield** represents as a legislator? Rhode Island? Nah. KANSAS.

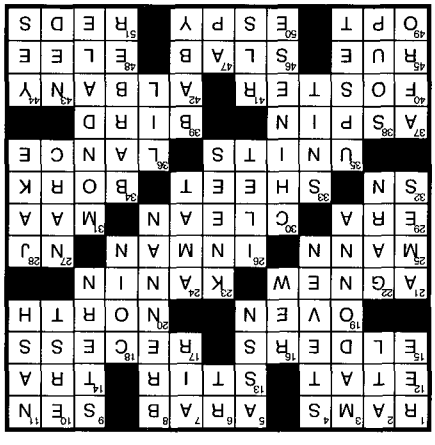
Or take musicians **John Funkhauser** and **Wally Pleasant**. You know which one is the folk singer and which one jams in a jazz combo, right? I was thrown off stride when I learned that **David Loud** heads a three-piece band composed of piano, cello, and woodwind (what, no electric guitars?). But then I read a reviewer's comment that Mr. Loud's group "sounds bigger than it is." Hey, we expected that.

In Syracuse, New York, there is a nice suburban housewife who runs a little manufacturing business out of her home. Her name is **Ellen LaBombard**. And her product is LaBombard Horseradish sauce, which comes in four varieties: Regular Hot, X Hot, XXX Hot, and "Too Darn Hot." If her name was Ellen Dreer, do you think she'd be bottling horseradish sauce? Of course not! She'd be running the League of Women Voters or something.

Occasionally, apt names spring up in clumps, imbuing an entire organization with Name Destiny Power. Take the Cayuga Chamber Orchestra, whose Board of Directors includes **Martha Brodhead**, **Karen Sass**, and **Helen Swank**. Name-wise, that's the perfect combination of brains, spunk, and money. Maybe in real life too.

—KZ

Answers to Biograph (puzzle on page 111)



BioGraph fans: If you want TAE to keep running the puzzle, send a card to BioGraph, 430 S. Geneva St., Ithaca, NY 14850.

The winner of our latest mystery gift drawing for returning a reader feedback card (see insert between pages 96 and 97) is **Mike Wilson** of Yorba Linda, California.

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